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"Thus they gave thanks to their Creator. Truly, twice thankful, three times thankful...for the ORIGINAL ARCHITECT made us as Human Beings, thus we established ourselves, we reproduced, we talk, we listen, we meditate, we move, we feel, we learn about the distant, about the near..."

—from the Pop Wuj
(Sacred Book of the Maya)



A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

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WITH US

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A set of back issues of AKWESASNE NOTES is available for \$10.00 per set. There are, as supplies hold, approximately eighteen issues of the newspaper in a set.
Early issues of AKWESASNE NOTES are no longer in print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have need of this invaluable repository of information.
Sets of back issues will be mailed out as the order arrives.

— NOTICE — AKWESASNE NOTES DOES NOT ACCEPT PAID ADVERTISING

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If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax-deductible contribution your check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.
Please note that subscription fees are not tax-deductible.

We had hoped this issue to prepare a report on the health effects of industrial contaminants on the people at Akwesasne. However, the Mt. Sinai health study, which would have provided the information for that report, was not released in time for us to meet this year-end deadline.

Instead, our coverage focuses on a very fruitful information and strategy session we attended recently in Washington, D.C. The conference, Native Resource Control and the Multinational Corporate Challenge: Aboriginal Rights in International Perspective, had to do with the threat posed to Native lands by the modern institution known as the multi-national corporation. Native delegates and non-Native allies from all over the world were there, and once again, the common principles of the traditional survival movement were identified and shared.

There was something added this time, though, something which we believe will separate the serious from the non-serious, as our international struggle progresses. The discussion in D.C. focused on strategy. People wondered - "How are we going to truly defend our peoples? What is the work we need to do, everyday, to achieve our objectives?"

As one of the speakers said, "We've heard the Buffalo speeches, again and again - but now, what are we really willing to do to save ourselves?"

It was obvious that our increasing recognition of the global nature of Native struggle is catapulting the movement into higher and more complex levels of sophistication. Our political thinking, our daily programs of activity, our concept of alliances, of communications, of intelligence and economic networks must become ever more clear, ever more consistent.

The men and women who would lead must be observed closely, must show a true capacity for the work, a true understanding of the danger and complexity that must be confronted if our peoples would survive.

CONSCIOUSNESS, COMMITMENT, DISCIPLINE - These are the only prescriptions for leadership. This is what we must offer and this is what we must demand.

At the end of 1982 - - This is how it is with us.



— Needed for Notes —

File folders (letter size), batteries (all sizes), scotch tape, index cards (2X3), garbage bags (large), yellow ruled pads, scissors, letter openers, paper clips, staplers and staples, envelopes (all sizes) and extension cords.



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native peoples in struggle

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Dear Akwesasne Notes Readers:

Some of our readers may have noticed that the Notes was published on a regular basis this past year. It looks like after three years of near bankruptcy, the loss and change-over of our typesetting equipment and the increasing demand of social action activity on our staff, we have been able to stabilize our editorial output.

This issue which you are holding is our sixth bi-monthly issue of 1982 (formerly we published only five times per year) and it marks the fulfillment of our publishing year.

1982 -- We can safely say, was a hard and fruitful year. It was hard because many, good, dedicated brothers and sisters lost their lives and liberty in the struggle; it was fruitful, because in many Native communities we saw evidence of well-directed concrete activities designed to implement the goals of sovereignty and self-sufficiency.

Across the American continents and reaching out to Native lands throughout the world, we witnessed the continuing growth of the Native Peoples Movement. From East Timor to Australia, from Hawaii to the Lakota Country, from Chile to the Northern Dene lands - the message was clear: hold the land, guard the resources, build the culture, hold back and defeat the colonialist influences, defend our people.

At the center of this continent, in the Heart of the Earth, we witnessed the atrocities against the Guatemalan peoples and the contemporary rise in struggle of the Mayan Nations, a tremor of indignation which will one day spearhead the often predicted "walking" of the Indian Peoples of the Americas.

Many stories, many events, many histories and viewpoints for a small newspaper like Akwesasne Notes to cover adequately. At Akwesasne Notes we are dedicated to a communications program which focuses on the objective of developing an ever-expanding public for the most important story of our times: the question of mankind's proper relationship to the land -- and the central role of Native, Aboriginal Peoples in modern mankind's understanding of that relationship.

To that end, in 1982, we also had the opportunity to finish a film, publish two new books, help build a Nation school, revitalize a radio communications effort and attend several dozen gatherings and conferences.

If we have not been entirely satisfied with our circulation and mailing capacity, it is also true that we have been more than rewarded in the growth of the dissemination of our materials through the many and varied networks of movement organizations.

We offer this brief year-end report in appreciation to our many friends and supporters without whose generous contributions, our effort could not have endured.

For all of your past and future support, as a staff, we offer to you our continued commitment through our communications program, to the survival of the Native Peoples.

Akwesasne Notes People

AKWESASNE NOTES CALENDARS

We have discontinued printing calendars because many Indian groups are now publishing calendars.

WE ARE CLEARING OUR STOCK OF CALENDARS. Each of our calendars contain unique artwork worthy of framing, as well as inspiring quotes. We have a limited supply so order yours now. The following calendars are available:

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AKWESASNE



A QUESTION OF SURVIVAL
Nation Rebuilding in the Land
of the Mohawks

AVAILABLE — A NEW BOOKLET

A QUESTION OF SURVIVAL — NATION
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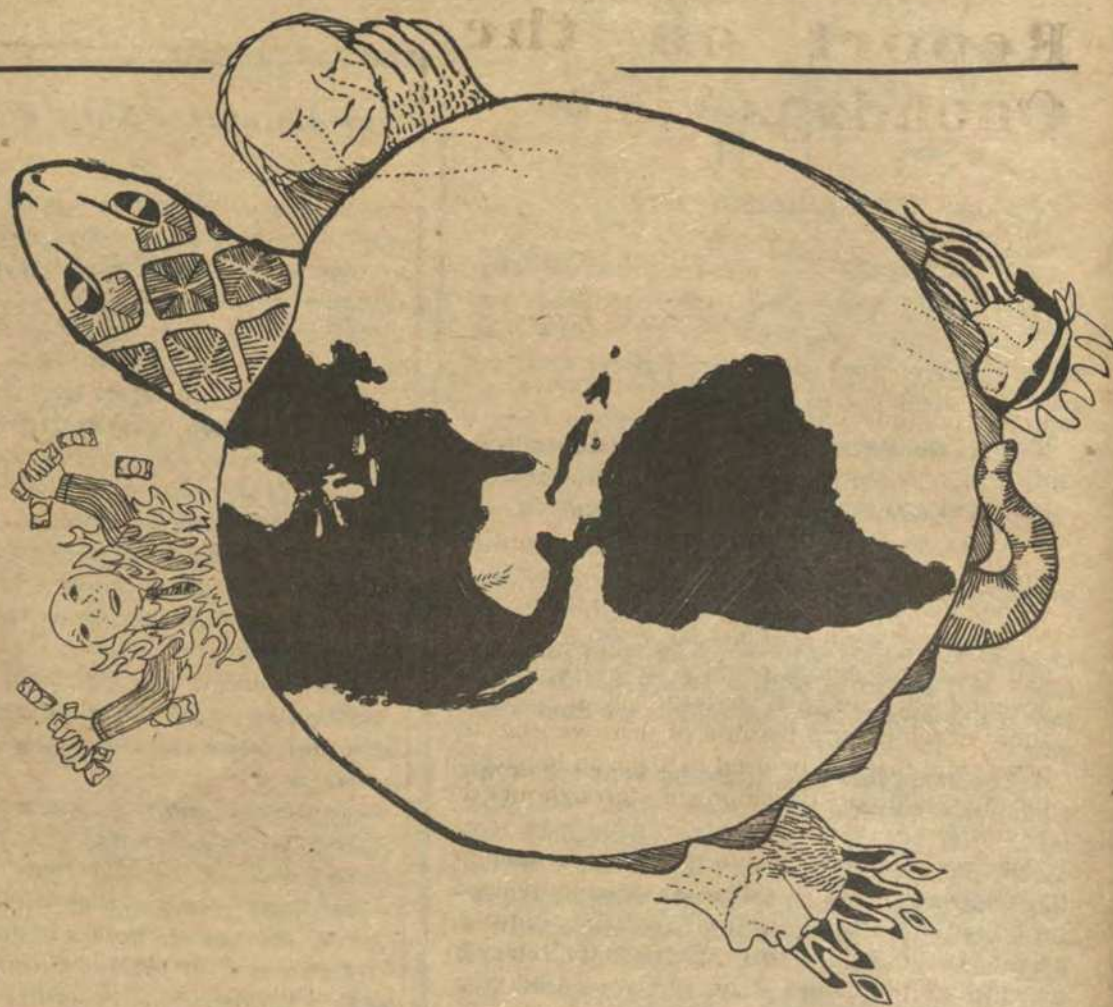
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October 12th Washington D.C.:

A Focus on Corporate Damage to Native Territories...

Strategies of Defense



On October 12, 1982, while most Americans were celebrating Columbus' "discovery" of the "new world", Native Peoples from around the world were meeting in Washington, D.C. for the first major conference on sovereign native resource rights to take place in the United States.

The conference, entitled "Native Resource Control and the Multinational Corporate Challenge: Aboriginal Rights in International Perspective", was held October 12-15th and brought together more than 100 delegates from eleven countries. It was sponsored by the Anthropology Resource Center, Cultural Survival, the Indian Law Resource Center and Multinational Monitor. AKWESASNE NOTES and Akwesasne Freedom Radio editors were in attendance also.

The October 12th gathering was significant in that it attempted to go beyond the mere presentation of information (denunciations might be a more fitting term), focusing rather on the development of common strategies, networks through which the vast amount of information now emerging on Native struggles can be channelled for the most intense possible outreach.

There were a wide variety of activist, legal and communications workshops. There were also dozens of testimonials by Native delegates on the particular circumstances of their home struggles.

The indigenous organizations represented at the conference included: the Federation of Land Councils and the Central, Kimberley, Ngaanyatjara, Pitjantjara, and Southeastern Land Councils of Australia; the Union of Indian Nations of Brazil; the Assembly of First Nations, Dene Nation, Gitksan-Carrier Tribal Council, Fort McMurray (Alberta), and the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation of Canada; the Confederation of Indian Nations of the Ecuadorian Amazon; representatives of the traditional Indian Movement of Guatemala; Protect Kahoolawe Ohane of Hawaii; the Kwajalein Atoll Corporation of the Marshall Islands; the Inter-ethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Amazon;

Kawerak, Inc. of Alaska; Northern Cheyenne Research Project; Sokaogon Chippewa Mining Committee and Tribal Sovereignty Program.

The following non-Native support groups were also represented at the conference:

the Aboriginal Mining Information Center of Australia; the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Indian Park of Brazil; Project North; the Saskatchewan Interchurch Uranium Committee, and the Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility of Canada; the Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Guaymí People of Panama; the Ecumenical Commission on Tribal Filipinos of the Philippines; the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights of England; and the American Friends Service Committee, Friends of the Earth, Jesuit Social Ministries, Maryknoll Fathers' Justice and Peace Commission, Mennonite Peace Section, National Lawyers Guild, Plenty International, Public Media Center, Southeast Asia Media Center, and Survival International of the United States.

Although most of the delegates were from regions subjected to intensive exploitation, they were deeply concerned by the situation in Guatemala. The struggle there was highlighted as the most pressing and dangerous threat indigenous people face today. According to the delegates, the survival struggles of the Mayan Nations has been largely misunderstood by international press agencies, and the virtual genocide against the Indian peoples there has been continually ignored. They pointed out that the recent massacres by the Guatemalan military have been described by the press as attacks on "peasants" and "subversives" when they were actually aimed against Indians fighting for their lands. "These are Indian Peoples, with their own cultures and languages—not simply 'peasants'...slaughtered because they stood in the way of the plans of the multinational corporations."

Delegates emphasized the Guatemalan situation

“ WE, THE NATIVE DELEGATES GATHERED HERE IN WASHINGTON, WISH TO URGE THE MEMBERS OF THE PRESS NOT ONLY TO RECEIVE THE VOLUMINOUS INFORMATION REFLECTING THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH NATIVE PEOPLES ARE NOW FACING, BUT TO MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO SEEK OUT THIS INFORMATION AND WE CHALLENGE THE PRESS TO PROVE US WRONG WHERE WE STATE THAT THE ABORIGINAL NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE ENDURING CONDITIONS WHICH MUST PROPERLY BE TERMED GENOCIDE. ”

From the Press Conference Statement

at a press conference at the close of the gathering and they urged the people of the United States to express their outrage and to bring the U.S. government's involvement in the slaughter to a halt.

Many of the Native delegates to the October 12th gathering were formally welcomed to North America at the Haudenosaunee capital of Onondaga, where diplomatic meetings among the various nations took place.

In the following pages, we are presenting excerpts from some of the speeches and other documents from the conference and a report on the Onondaga discussions that should be of interest to many of our readers.

Report on the Onondaga Visit



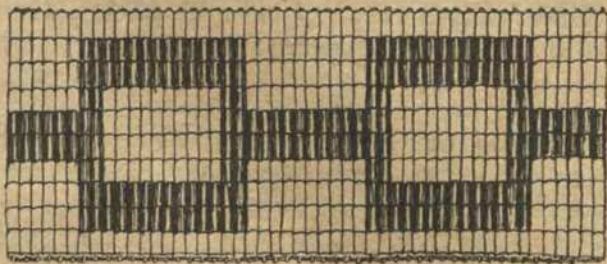
Presented by Pat Dodson

...“We discussed our stories of oppression and that it's not only an American variety. We said that we don't want to be here trying — the example was given — to bring back the buffalo, because we've all got the same enemies and we've got the same problems. We need to develop similar — if not the same — strategies in response to the common enemy, and the common kinds of problems that we've got. The other thing that reinforces this is that we as indigenous peoples are at the front of development, and the western way of thinking about development. Because of that, we hold the power and that can be used to make an impact on the question of development throughout the world.

We need cooperation internationally on strategy, while we recognize that there are different regimes, different legal structures that people are living out their lives under, and that we have to try to take into account the dangers that are involved for other people who do not have some of the freedoms — most all of the freedoms that we might have — particularly our brothers in Guatemala.

We also have to come to grips with this non-care attitude that governments and multinationals have towards indigenous peoples. And the way we thought we might be able to do that was that we would have corresponding activities taking place at the point where people are being hurt, and in the other half of the world where people can take action in solidarity with us. We need to have collaboration in support of our attacks that we make, whatever they may be. It will be up to the indigenous nations to determine what styles of attack they make. We need collaboration also in support on the kinds of defense for the people who are at risk and who physically are being killed.

We also discussed the question of national security organizations — the CIA and other comparable kinds of people that have all sorts of ways of bringing about a change in the environment, a change in the people through whatever technological ideas or technological specialists that they can use — either impregnating insects to transport diseases, or whatever it might be.



We looked also at Christian missionary kinds of organizations. Some people have had — we've all had probably — negative experiences with the missionary mentality. When the Christian people came in, the colonizers followed soon after, or they came both at one time. A lot of problems began right there. Today, we're also experiencing new forms of Christian movements. We tried to look at the distinctions between Christian people, from the denominations to the fundamentalist groups or whatever, and the way that they've been used to infiltrate communities through language programs, in order then to provide information to other people with a vested interest in exploitation.



Mr. Shorty O'Neill, European representative for the Aboriginal Nations of Australia, during the litigation strategies workshop. Pat Dodson, who prepared this report, is in the background, on the right.

Akwesasne Notes Photo: Gerald Wheeler

We looked at also the corporation of rulers — governments, churches, police, military, whatever — who have a collaboration amongst themselves — and the single goal that we determined that they have, is basically to find out where the raw materials are so that they can make money from them. And the question was, how do we come to grips with that?

We looked at the problem of people who invest in multinationals. What do they do if you tell them to pull their money out? When it starts to hurt, what are they going to do, particularly church people, or people with some sort of conscience, if that's possible?...

We looked at the question of what we're dealing with now, trying to identify a number of multinational corporations and concentrate on them, at least so we can make a chink in this whole monolith, this whole beast, bamboozling threat that has imposed itself on us in the form of multinationals. If we can only take little steps, at least let's start and do something about that.

We talked about the necessity of communication at the time that something is happening — whether it's people who are getting killed in Guatemala, or people who are having themselves locked up in some other country such as the Philippines, or whatever. We should have communications around the world among our people so that we can then respond to those really important matters — and at the same time being conscious of the right to defend our indigenous peoples.

The other thing we worried about was the question of the export of racism. There are people who have developed the skills of racism in one country and are then brought into another country. For instance, in South Africa. We get some experts from South Africa who have been oppressing the black brothers and sisters there, who come to Australia and get into high government official jobs and carry out the same kind of advice. In fact, there is one such man who is the present adviser to the Australian Minister of Aboriginal Affairs. It's a question of identifying these kinds of characters as well, so that we know Who is Who on the international scene.

We look at one thing that we thought may be to our advantage, and that's the mentality of the racists. It thinks that we're incompetent, as you've heard already today. We have to find ways of using that information to our advantage.

The other thing that we became conscious of was that even though there are divisions amongst us as indigenous people, there are much more differences amongst the Western people. There are far more differences amongst them than there are amongst us. We should keep that in mind.

I think the other major point was that for the West and the Multinationals, time means money. If anything we can do in one country is supporting the struggle of the brothers in another country by stalling, holding up the operation in their country in order that they have to come to some type of concession for another group of indigenous peoples, then we should be looking at that as well, because we know that time and money go together for the multinationals.

We also talked about alien borders that divide our people, and the rejection of that sort of imposition.

The other thing is that we looked at the question of sovereignty, of acting as sovereign nations, and not believing the kind of propaganda that has been heaped onto us through the Western machine of education or whatever they may be. The whole structure that has made us feel inferior, second rate, or not even human.

The last point which has come out through this conference already is the fact that a lot of our work is going to go on in strengthening our own communities. But not simply for our own purposes, but for the purpose of the struggles for other peoples as well, so that we become as a people within one continent, within one ground, aware of what's happening, in other places. We must strengthen our people in their ways because the forces of assimilation and racism are that strong. We must do something to retain what has been given to us from the earth, from the elders, from the traditions. We must do that and ... that's a lot, while at the same time trying to fight on all these other fronts ...”

John Mohawk:

Building a Traditional Resistance to Western Penetration

The contradictions of this particular job are just mind boggling. We need to talk about the nature of the problem, and we're gathered at the center of its nerve endings in the middle of one its architectural wonders, in a circular room with its piled carpeting, its electronic communications gadgets, and some of its mentality. So we're going to have to stumble along the best we can to get down to the meat of the problem. I hope to see a way that we can break out of the mental blocks that this surroundings bring us into and try to talk to one another as people.

The first and initial problem that I see has to do with a misunderstanding which has been taught to us by those peoples who have colonized all our lands and our peoples. We call it racism. We say there is racism in the world, it's directed at us, at the indigenous peoples of the world. It is true there is a racism. When we discuss that term, I'd like to remind you of its origin, where the term racism came from and what it really means. Not just what we'd like it to mean, but what it really means. Racism isn't a dislike of a people because of their skin color. Racism has a very very specific history. When the Spanish first arrived at the Americas, they questioned first what it was that they had discovered, whether it was India or what, and in their questioning, they were caught in a dilemma. The new world brought to them a crisis in belief. They were a European people coming out of what they call the Dark Ages. A Dark Ages which I say to you have not ended. Their access to knowledge was limited in 1492 to several documents — most prominent of which were the Holy Bible and the teachings of Aristotle.

They were a fundamentalist kind of people. They believed everything that was to be known was in the Bible or the teachings of Aristotle. The reality that was not mentioned in the Bible was the existence of the American Indians or of Australian Aborigines, or Native Peoples of other places. When it was discovered that such places and such peoples existed, there was a frantic search to prove that the Bible could not have been so incomplete that it left out whole continents and whole peoples because the Bible was supposed to be the word of God. The word of God cannot be wrong, they argued, it cannot be deficient.

That's why you'll find some people who say that the Indians are the "lost tribes" of Israel. It's not because there's evidence to that effect but because they are trying to uphold the idea that the Bible really is the word of God, the whole word of God, and nothing but the word of God. The fact of indigenous peoples' existence created a crisis in ideology in Europe. One way that some of them sought to resolve the crisis was to deny that there was another people in the Americas, to deny that the American Indians were human beings. That would explain why it was left out of the Bible. The explanation was simply that obviously since the indigenous peoples weren't mentioned in the Bible that they therefore couldn't be real human beings. They weren't descendants of Adam and Eve. That was one explanation. It took a papal decision to determine that Indians were human beings, and somehow they were descendants of Adam and Eve,



and somehow they were therefore possessed of souls, and possessed of cognition and possessed of enough intelligence to grasp civilization, and to become Christianized and to grasp the word of God, to become Catholic, and also to become subjects of the King of Spain. The pope made a technical legal decision that the Indians were humans, that they had souls. But as a matter of fact many of the Spanish didn't act on that decision. The Spanish Conquest acted to develop medieval fiefdoms in Latin America. One of the most horrible periods of butchery in history — the Spanish Conquest — acted as though the Indians were in fact animals, and enslaved the Indians in the Caribbeans, in Central America and in South America.

Had we held this conference 100 years ago, or 150 years ago, we would be discussing the Catholic Church or the Protestant churches as institutions of the West which have the most profound effect on Indian nations. But today we're talking about the transnational corporations because they are the most effective. The transnational corporations, incidentally, were born during the period of colonization. The early corporations were given charters by the European kings to enact what amounted to sovereignty over large areas of land in the Americas. The Paris Corporation, the Dutch West Indies Corporation, the Holland Land Company, and so on, and so forth. Those corporations, especially those corporations like the Hudson's Bay Company, were given not only charters to conduct business, they were given charters which amounted to sovereignty over land. They could raise armies, they could imprison people, they could make treaties with other nations, with other peoples of the world, in the name of the King. They could do all those sovereign things that we normally associate with the governments of the world.

We know today that the modern transnational corporations in fact have more power in some respect over peoples lives than do nation states. We also know today that the marriage between the charter corporation and the nation state is absolute

and complete. We know that if there was a time when the church acted as the arm of penetration of the West's economic systems, today the corporations have largely replaced the Church as the arm of the West's penetration of native areas.

We understand on one level that the transnational corporations are the enemy because we see them in our native lands and we see that they are extracting natural resources from our lands. But I say to you that the transnational corporations are only one face of the enemy. It is the whole West, whether its churches, or its transnational corporations, whether its people that come to teach you their language, or its people that come to preach to you about the benefits of "progress," — that is the real enemy. The West has many institutions which change a peoples' culture in ways which prepare the people for the day when the corporations arrive to exploit the land and the people. It is the West, whether it's the West in the form of a corporation, or the West in the form of an ideology, whether it's the Left or the Right, whether it's the West in the form of a religion, or the West in the form of economic ideology, whatever it is, it's the West. It's the West against the rest of us. It's the West, and the transnational corporations are just one, just one, arm of the West.

The West has been very effective at penetrating our areas with their ideologies so that we're divided and confused. The argument which is used is that integration is a good idea, that technologies are good ideas and that we must sell something to get that integration, we must sell something to get that technology, we must give up something of ourselves. We must move away and give up the old ways so we can acquire these new ways. These new ways only require that we give up our land, our labor, our water, our woodlands, or whatever we have. We rarely are led to understand that "progress" is defined by these people as the sacrifice of Native lands and life.

What the Indian people have to offer is that the Indian people have within their governmental system, within their societal organizations, within the very essence of our societies, an idea of social priorities which puts human needs ahead of class needs, and puts human needs ahead of corporate needs, and ahead of technological advancement ideologies. Our ways of life put human needs to the forefront of the utilization of our planet. All native peoples have that.

It's not likely that out of the Hopi culture will come a plan that includes provisions for a national sacrifice area. The Hopis could not conceive of pumping all the water out of the aquifers and turning their homeland or anyone's homeland into an absolute desert. The West can conceive of that because they understand that they are sacrificing the life of a region of the earth in exchange for profit. They will flood your lands for somebody's profit and power because their system is based on a class structure which incorporates class priorities. Classes of people who live in Baltimore, Montreal, Paris and London don't care if they flood the lands of Guaymi or the Cree. They don't care what happens to the peoples that live in Alaska. They don't

care about the human condition as long as the profits keep rolling in.

The place where land and resources are turned into benefits for the class society is the world market economy. To the extent that we are participants in the world market economy shall we always be slaves to it. If there's going to be a strategy for change, it must begin with the understanding that, in order for us to gain freedom and power over our lives, we must challenge our relationship to the market economy. How you get there is your business, but that is the objective. That objective means that people must have as their first priority, the reclaiming their lands for their own purposes.

And if that means that there are plans to build a dam on your land, you must understand that the enemy is not only the abstract class structure, it's all the institutions that penetrated that area, that softened you up, that made you like that electric mixer, that television game show. The commodities that you are being socialized to "need" are being offered in an effort to occupy your time and your consciousness and to buy you off so you won't object to the flooding of your lands. ALL that stuff IS the enemy. And so we don't get confused about this. In order for us to fight that enemy we may be forced to go to their schools. We need to acquire an understanding of technology. We have to do this, but this doesn't excuse us. When we come back home from college the water is still rising. Whether we have a college diploma and an ability to make \$35,000 a year or not, the water is still rising. As long as the waters rise, we have to put up a resistance to it. That resistance must relate to the objective that we must take power over our lives. And that means we must take responsibility to find ways to feed our people, clothe our people, and house our people. Those have to be our concrete objectives. We have to show plans for that. How are we going to take and translate our humanism, our desire to have human life, as the first priority of human organization? How are we going to translate that desire into concrete action with a concrete political platform?

That should be our agenda now. We've heard the "Buffalo speeches." We're going to have to go back into our communities and organize. First is the idea that we are distinct peoples. We are going to have to go into our communities and organize a pride in our cultures. We are going to have to organize a sense among our people that there are alternatives to the West and they exist in our communities in many different kinds of ways. They exist out there, waiting for those of us who understand the problems that we are facing, those of us who understand the option of existence or extinction, to make that choice.

To fail to understand this, you must ignore the famines ahead and the famines behind us, you must ignore all the realities of the modern world and you must come to the conclusion somehow that progress is a wonderful thing but that it is something with no definition and no history. Play your video game, put your quarter in and get all of your psychological identity and a psychological kind of placebo from that. And as you do, try to convince yourself that you are experiencing "progress" even as you ignore realities. We live in a time in which we face actual cultural extinction. Whole societies face cultural extinction because of an attack that has a material objective.

To destroy a peoples culture is to destroy their ability to survive in their environment. Whether that is by taking their land, or by enslaving them as laborers, or by destroying their environment, by taking their water, by cutting down the forest around them, by force of arms, or whatever. So when I say cultural survival, I am not talking about



"We've heard the 'Buffalo speeches.' We're going to have to go back into our communities and organize. First is the idea that we are distinct peoples. We are going to have to go into our communities and organize a pride in our cultures. We are going to have to organize a sense among our people that there are alternatives to the West."

the nicety of weaving blankets or having dances in the plaza, or showing people your Indian outfit one day a year. When I talk about cultural survival what I'm saying is that these transnational corporations are attacking the regions, they're attacking the roots, they're attacking the very earth upon which the Indian people stand and depend upon for life, and upon which the continuance of their cultures depend. These transnational corporations attack that, and through that attack it has destroyed peoples' cultures. If something is attacked and it is destroyed by transnational corporations or by the whole system of the West — and I don't leave the Left out of this — then there must be a reason for that attack. It must be that those cultures and languages are seen as a threat to transnational corporate ends. And in fact they are, are they not? Indian people, indigenous people, who practice their culture do not make good slaves.

Our objective is power over our own lives. When we talk about sovereignty, we're talking about our taking power over our own lives, not asking somebody's permission, but taking power. Making decisions for ourselves. Not at the hand of the Department of Indian Affairs or the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or the State of New Mexico, or anyplace else. Power over our own lives, power over our own lands, power to push the multinational corporations out of our territories — power.

Power, that's what sovereignty means. The ability to enact the will of our people as opposed to the ability of the transnational corporations or the na-

tion states to enact will over us. Power is the name of the game, and we have very few allies willing to agree that we should have power. Few allies in the Left, few allies in the Right.

I wanted to open up discussion about the basics of some of the principles of our peoples — principles of peoples whose societies are earth-bound, whose societies are localized, whose societies are tribal, whose societies are based on the family which is disintegrating in the West. Indigenous society is based on consensus decision making processes unknown in the West. They are societies founded on respect and reverence to nature which is embodied in law that is common in many of our cultures and which is unknown in the West. The strength of what we are is that we are different from the West. The more different we are, the stronger our potential.

Those of us who are paying attention are seeing very serious limitations to capitalism and to the state socialism that we see in Eastern Europe. At this moment the most vital system in the world is the corporate socialism that we see in Asia.

The Native peoples haven't told anybody about our systems of organization. We haven't even told ourselves about it. We haven't analysed it yet, and we haven't talked about it. We haven't talked, and we say we're different. We're an alternative, but we don't tell what it is. We don't discuss it, we don't discuss what our world looks like when we have power over our own economic lives. Our number one objective in our countries must be economic determinism which must be defined by our ability to determine for ourselves how we're going to use our own resources and our labor to our own benefit. That should be our priority. Almost everywhere we face serious hostility to that. The reason that Indian People in the United States should be fighting to get land back is so that we can develop self-sufficiency and economic determinism so we can re-establish our cultures in a strong and vital way with an economic base on that land. There is no point in having land if we're going to lease it to the white man so that he can chemicalize it and ruin it, and mine it, and do all the things he wants to do to it. We do have systems as indigenous peoples. We do have a system of economic organization.

Those of us who understand that need to be the driving force of a political organization that goes back out into those communities with a program in which culture is unabashedly at the forefront. We must propagate our culture, our language, our ways of life, our native economies, the use of our lands for ourselves, without making any apologies to anybody, or asking for anybody's approval. We have seen that we cannot enjoy the best of two worlds because our world is becoming homogenized by the other, being absorbed by the other. We must choose one world. Cree world, Iroquois world. We will decide our power. We will decide the quality of our lives and the lives of our children. This is where we are at. This is what we must learn how to do. To acquire power. To exercise power. We need to talk about concrete steps that we may take in that direction.

What I am going to say now may be hard for everybody to grasp. Our lawyers aren't going to get our land back. Lawyers are not going to do that. People that support the concept of cultural diversity are not going to give you your language back. They are not going to help you find a way to help build an economy. They are not going to build you a house. They are not going to blow your nose or tie your shoes for you. They can only help. Lawyers are not magicians. They can take a process of social change which is in progress and give it a boost here and there, especially in the United States and Canada. They can give it a boost. But if there's



Dr. Shelton H. Davis, Anthropology Resource Center Director, and one of the conference organizers, and an expert on development and Native peoples.

The irony of the post-war economic boom that gripped both the industrial and Third World countries was that it ended in such pessimism and despair. Countries such as Brazil, which opened the decade of the 1970s on the back of an export-generated "economic miracle," ended it with an astounding petroleum dependence and a \$60 billion foreign debt.

It is not surprising that indigenous peoples should question the traditional Western wisdom that industrial development is necessarily associated with social progress and economic betterment. When applied to sensitive environments such as the Canadian arctic or the Brazilian Amazon, the industrial development model usually means social chaos and ecological catastrophe. People are beginning to realize that the knowledge and values possessed by indigenous peoples are necessary for

the creation of healthy, renewable, and sustainable societies. Indigenous peoples are also realizing that some of the answers to their own economic dilemmas may lie in the redevelopment of their traditional economies, rather than in the corporate promise of royalties and jobs.

Over the past decade, a powerful, growing network of indigenous organizations and support groups has successfully placed the issue of indigenous peoples' rights on the international human rights agenda. At the same time, the world economy's worst crisis since the Great Depression has led to the delay or cancellation of several large resource development projects planned for indigenous areas. The combination of these two conditions can provide a political opening for indigenous peoples.

"The redevelopment of culture on a human scale is the only practical way that people and peoples can regain control of their lives and their destinies. It must be the primary goal of the Traditional Indian Movement, and other (often as yet unnamed) movements as well."

no progress being made, they can do nothing, they are helpless. And the same is true for everybody else. All the resource people that would help Indian people are helpless unless we are taking the initiative. We make the decisions, and, anyways, if we are going to take power over our lives, we don't need lawyers telling us what to do. Again and again, I've been to meetings where everybody turned and hoped the lawyers were going to work magic. We are supposed to know how to do *magic*. Let the lawyers do the law.

Those are basically the things I want people to keep in their minds. I want you to keep in your mind that the West is essentially a racist place that doesn't believe that Indian people are real human beings, that they have a right to their own societies, that they have a right to power over their lives. They don't believe it. They'll tell you that they do to your face, but they don't believe it. We have to convince them of it, inch by inch. The first thing we have to do is convince our own people of it. Our own people don't believe it. After we convince our own people then we have to convince the West of it. We all have different roles. We have many realities, many different situations. After we leave here, we will all take whatever we grasp of this, and we will apply it to some reality all together different from the next one.

To push back the multinational corporations, we need a strategy that empowers our people. We cannot ignore the economic needs of our people, because that's how the transnational corporations control us. They control us through the economic channels. If we challenge transnational corporations in the northern Great Plains right now, the Indian people in the northern Great Plains would

begin to starve to death because the other side would just simply pull out the food stamps. They would pull out the welfare programs. And the people aren't organized. Right now they are just beginning to think of organizing to provide a economic base for themselves. There is no such thing as sovereignty unless you have an economic base of your own. There is no political power unless you have an economic base. We must develop an economic base which is not based on the selling of our souls, our land, our water, our children's future to these big companies who will come and rape the place and destroy its ecology and who will, in many cases, when they leave 15 or 20 years from now, will leave our people more destitute now than when we began.

So I end this, urging people to keep their eye on the ball. The name of the game is the exercise of power. And the objective is to empower our people. Not to empower you or me, or make kings out there — we've got to give our people some power so they can make decisions which aren't dictated to them from London, from Zurich, from Milan, from Rome. We need to work so our people get the strength to develop their own societies. We need to re-establish the idea that our small nations should be the model for the future. And we need to start to educate the West about that. Not to apologize to the west that we look a little bit different than they do, not to apologize to them that our english grammar isn't perfect, not to apologize to them because our clothing wasn't made in London, not to apologize to them for anything. We need to begin to teach them about what their transnational corporations are doing to the ecology of the planet.



And we need to start teaching them some social alternatives which puts as its priority, humankind. Not profits, not political power, not bombs, but humanity as the first priority. That's one of the biggest lessons that native peoples have to teach the West. We should make that our priority. We should make that our program. We should start organizing to do that in the best way that we know how.

John Mohawk

Ralph Nader:

Approaching Strategy for Confronting the Corporate Threat



Photo Credit: Multinational Monitor

As you heard from John Mohawk, the essential message is that what is at stake here is extinction, and genocide. And nothing less or more than that. And the basis of land for retaining culture is also a reflection of the need to have a strong defined culture to retain the land. So they both work on one another.

Now comes the multinational corporations with a much greater and faster penetrating ability into more remote areas of the world. An ability enhanced by new technologies which can do in places like Australia, and Alaska and the Amazon, what no one imagined could be done in a few years, a few decades ago.

Coupled with this technology there is obviously a growing demand, slightly slowed by world recession, for these kinds of raw materials. And coupled with that is the reliance of third world countries on demands by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which link credit awards from these institutions with certain concessions as to the development of natural resources, and the building of dams, and the establishment of aluminum smelters, other projects such as those.

Those are three kinds of pressures that are coming down very hard. And in any strategy for confronting multinational corporations there has to be taken into account, how to gain more time. How to delay what is trying to be done by multinationals. In our country we have seen the usefulness of Environmental Impact Statements, which tend to give the potential victims of the pollution more time to build a counter-reaction, and a counter-strategy. And the determination by multinationals not to give indigenous peoples more time is seen by the way they use government power. In country after country, they move in on these areas, with the government in front of them or linked with them. The Western Australian government, which is one of the few fascist regimes inside an overall democracy, has illustrated exactly how multinationals from the U.S., Japan and Great Britain can utilize even state governments with extraordinary powers that would be considered totally unacceptable in any real constitutional democracy. Powers that even apply to the restriction on free speech, to the restriction on assembly, and other laws which most people who view Australia from afar, would never believe existed in some of those states.

Now in this conference, you will be discussing and exchanging views and information on legal strategies and economic strategies and the like. I want to emphasize one aspect of how to confront multinational corporations and not be redundant or repeat what you are going to hear from other speakers who have come to make their presentations.

Namely, that the multinational corporation strategy toward indigenous peoples and third world people is to limit the arena of conflict and impact so that the victims are completely exposed in all the totality of their lives to the penetration of the particular multinational project. Whether it's a mine, or a road, or a dam, or a smelter. The victims are wholly exposed, entirely. Their entire life is in jeopardy. Patterns of disease sweep through the communities. The political and economic control over their lands are jeopardized. If you look at the other side, you'll see that only one tentacle of a multinational, operating world-wide is exposed in return. And this is something that provides an insight into the way a multinational reduces its risk of exposure. Namely, that in response to the global corporations move onto indigenous peoples lands, the counter response has to open up other fronts, completely separate from the one that is most concerned. In other words, the reach by the multinationals into your areas has to be counter-acted with a reach into their areas--where they don't expect you to reach and to challenge. And that way you open up a number of other fronts, that will increase the price and the risk that the corporation has to pay, for doing what it's doing in your area. Now there are several connections that need to be made here, in this country. We can hardly advise you what you have to do in your own area, but we can suggest that kind of connections that should be made between yourselves and groups in this country, or in England or Japan, wherever the multinationals operate.

Obviously, first and foremost, is to develop the connections of information. Back and forth, it's staggering to see how little information is available about the multinationals, even in the nations capitol. And so when the indigenous people and their allies want to find out about Dupont, or Aluminum Corporation of America, or Reynolds it's very difficult. We got a request a few weeks ago from Brazil, saying, send us information about Dupont, there's a major project that Dupont wants to develop in our area and we think it has some harmful effects. And so information was sent. But it wasn't only information that related to Dupont and Australia, it was information relating to Dupont's pollution and poisoning of communities in this country. Because Dupont was making the claim in Australia that it had a very good environmental record in the United States. And nobody could challenge that.

But when the information about the environmental record of Dupont in West Virginia and in Delaware and elsewhere, was transmitted to the people in Australia, they had information to fortify their response. And clearly I think, one of the results of this conference is going to be to increase

the velocity of information that is useful in combating the degradations that so jeopardize what you hold dear. The Multinational Monitor magazine, which we developed over two years ago, also tries to do this as well. The second connection that should be made is a set of advisory committees. It is very important to link your cause with advisory committees in the home countries of the multinationals. For example, a legal advisory committee, scientific, health advisory committees. If a particular mineral is being mined in your area, say uranium, it's important that you be able to have instantly accurate material on radon gas and how those uranium tailings are going 24-hours a day, emitting cancerous gases and also how these tailings are going to contaminate water sources. You shouldn't have to wait 5 or 10 years before you can get something more than suspicions. You should have the best specialists in the world able to support your case and testify and give the information to the local media, if it's a free media, so the material can be widely disseminated. Also, it is important to have people who can generate stories and materials in the western press, because that tends to expose what the governments are often doing behind the scenes to support multinational operations in Third World countries or in our country or Alaska or Great Plains area. These are the connections that can be drawn. Information connections, the advisory committee connections, the media connections.

Every human injustice has its particular language to describe it. And when the tribes in the Amazon are wiped out, that language has got to be genocide and extinction. And as you know, different injustices have different levels of lobbies in our country, and some are much stronger than others.

Now the powers of these multinationals are awesome to be sure. I mean Exxon grosses \$106 billion dollars in one year. And that's bigger than a lot of countries' gross revenue in the world. They do have influence over governments, both in the west and in the Third World countries--influence that is more than just their economic power. They use techniques of bribery, they use techniques linked with alleged national security concerns, they use the state department embassies as their business agents. There was a Wall Street Journal article in the late 60's that reported that in many countries officials couldn't tell the difference from between the oil representatives, the representatives of the oil companies, and representatives of the CIA in the embassies. So closely were they working together.

So they do have a lot of leverage, but mind you, they're least vulnerable where they meet you, in many respects. And there're most vulnerable back home where you don't meet them, but people in the western countries do. I think it's very impor-

"The reach of the multinational into your areas has to be counter-acted with a reach into their areas... to increase the price and the risk that the corporation has to pay..."

tant to emphasize that no matter how powerful a corporation may be, there are all kinds of skeletons in their closet, all kinds of soft underbellies that simply have to be probed and exposed. And if you think they are invincibly powerful, you often will not think that there's much hope in proceeding in a longer connective way to the source of the corporations, their home operations.

Secondly, the corporation is very good at selling a better life to the people whose minerals and lands are used and exploited by the corporation. They will say for example that disease levels are very high, and corporations come into these areas and will also help establish public health standards. It is now more than simply episodic to note that an extractive economy initiated by an outside force almost uniformly has enormous destructive effects. Some of the local representatives may become wealthy. There may be some prominent buildings and roads built in the area, but in terms of the destruction of the culture, the breakdown of the kinship structure, the breakdown of values that are not substitutable by corporate values, the dependency that occurs on the cash economy, the boom and bust impact, the wreckage that is left behind in terms of contamination, of the subsistence basis for many of the indigenous peoples. All of these and more have been the record in area after area.

I also would like to point out that it is very important for you to try to focus on recruiting young people in the western countries who can become sensitive not only to the plight of the indigenous people but also to the enormous importance of preserving the ecology and the environment which is central to your concern. Why it is important to do that is because any movement that expects to grow and become powerful has got to be attractive to the young. It's got to develop that connection between an idealism that is rooted in respect for peoples' self-determination, but also noting that all people are human beings who have to help one another, and the process is definitely two way. You may be looking for a purpose in life, because you're trying to preserve life, you're trying to save your cultures, but there are many young people in the western countries who are really looking for a purpose in life. And they wonder around aimlessly or hopelessly even though they've got a good head on their shoulders and they would like to develop a commitment that can become extraordinarily resilient and ready for a life time of beneficial work.

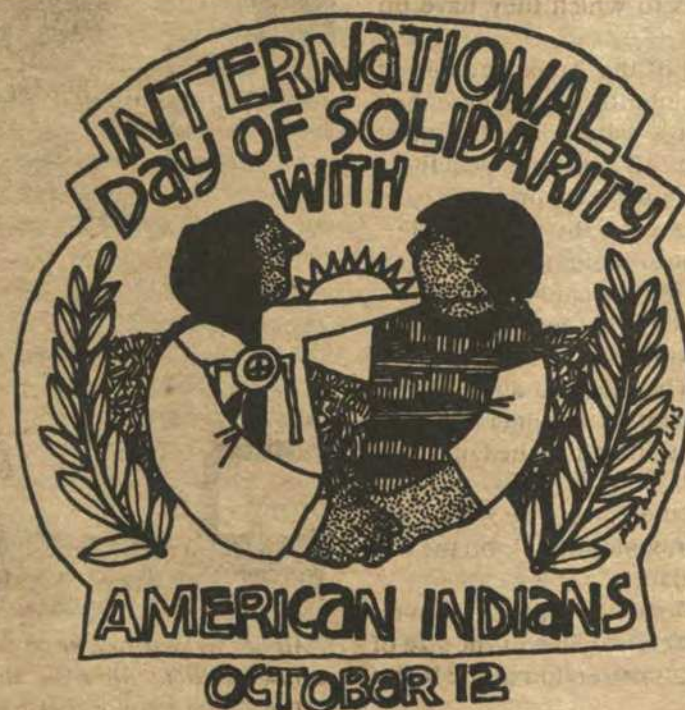
Let me just conclude with this observation. The cooperation between indigenous peoples movements and other movements, with what John Mohawk called the re-development of life styles on a human scale, is very important. It is very important also to know the way the West has organized its corporate structure, which is now heading towards higher and higher risks of catastrophe. We were once, 2,400 years ago, people utilizing solar energy; we've now progressed in 2,400 years to utilizing plutonium and nuclear power. The risks of artificial intelligence and extinction of species, the gene slicing, and DNA, these are potentially catastrophic as well. We're developing these technologies and only the benefits and sometimes hypothetical benefits are publicized but the catastrophic risks are swept under the rug.

And we also developed a society that is completely consumed by more and more attention and involvement in the means, and which forgets about the ends. The means become the end. So all this brain power and specialization that are developing are not looking at the bigger picture. Where is this society heading? Is it developing greater justice, violence, or chemical violence? Is it preserving the genetic inheritance? Is it taming technology, so that technology does not uproot basic constitutional rights, such as the right of privacy, such as the rights not to be interfered with, not to be subjected to arbitrary police state and other authority? We have to remember that dictatorships connected with new technologies can become much more pervasive dictatorships, much more cruel dictatorships, than before. So there's a crisis of philosophy, in the Western world that desperately needs the infusion of people who know what the basics are all about, who know that you can't put a price on a breeze, and you can't put a price on a river, you can't put a price on a tree. But you can't put a price on them because they're priceless. And because you can't put a price on them, that does not mean that they can be subjected to a low level priority if not destroyed outright. And I think a lot of movements into these religious cults among the young in the Western world is basically a reaction to their inability to find a search for meaning in life, for purpose in life. For an activity that constantly relates to the fundamental human values and their protection, to the development of the broad-based intellect, rather than develop the intellect for narrow corporate purposes that conflict with these basic rights. And that's the long way of saying that concern with the depredations now moving in on the indigenous peoples is not simply a concern for one's fellow human being, but it is also a way to look at our own plight which may on the surface appear to be far less serious, but on further reflection, appears to be far more catastrophic in terms of the risk of nuclear warfare and pollution and genetic manipulation and the process of extinction. I think we ought to keep it just with that perspective.

I hope in the next 3 1/2 days you will see this con-

ference as only the beginning of a process reaching out a thousand ways to connect with the values you want to preserve with systems of self-reliance and systems of power, systems of protection, and systems of communication. And certainly we stand ready to help in any way we can in that regard, and realize that no longer can these abuses be localized and treated as local situations, but they have to be viewed as both the burden and the responsibility of all of us. And central to that is to recognize that the multinational corporation, which is now flinging itself out of control, corrupting governments and societies because it has much more power than the responsibility to go with it. And because the entire measurement of its activity is based on one tiny value system called maximizing the dollar. And it has impacts on health, future generations, constitutional rights, justice, but it still measures what it does and doesn't do by the maximization of the dollar. Now an institution with that kind of power can become extraordinarily dangerous, because it is not curbed by an internal accountability to other human values. And no society should ever allow its economic institutions to have that kind of political education, communication, and environmental power.

The best evidence of what that kind of institution can do that we have at hand, is the imposition on the Native Peoples of Alaska of a Wall Street type corporate structure. And time and time again you can see the clash between the bottom line profit maximizing mentality and indigenous values that don't quite fit with those kinds of priorities. And there's no faster way to destroy a tribal culture with its own hand, then to get it to accept as a form of economic organization on its tribal lands a Wall Street type of stock held corporation. That is the modern gigantic trojan horse for indigenous peoples. And it is right now, comes right along side with the attempt to dispossess indigenous people of their own land. And this is what I think John Mohawk was saying again and again, that there has to be home grown institutions dealing with natural resources, dealing with production for human needs. Home grown from the cultural base itself. Thank you very much.



“Without its Native People, Brazil does not exist...”



STATEMENT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF BRAZIL to the Conference on Native Resource Control and the Multinational Corporate Challenge: Aboriginal Rights in International Perspective

The indigenous people of Brazil wish to express their solidarity with their brothers in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Australia, Canada and other countries because of oppressions and massacres presently committed against them and because of the situation in which they find themselves, and to publicly condemn these things which are now occurring. At the same time, we want to inform the other indigenous peoples attending this conference in Washington of some of the principal problems caused by multinationals in Brazil and by the Brazilian government itself. We protest the following:

1. The construction of the highway from Buiaba to Porto Velho, financed by the World Bank, which will cut through the territory of the Nambiquara Indians;
2. The invasion of the Satere-Mawe territory in the state of Amazonas by the French Elf Aquitaine petroleum corporation, which has destroyed a large part of hunting, fishing, forest resources and the traditional culture of these people;
3. The development of the Pro-Alcool (gasahol) program in the Brazilian northeast, which will effect various indigenous groups including the Wacu, Tinguiboto, Xoco-Cariri, Xucura-Cariri, whose lands will be destroyed by sugar cane plantations;
4. The invasion of the Kaingang lands in the state of Parana in southern Brazil by the company of Slaver and Son, which has already cut down a large part of their forest for export;
5. The lack of legal recognition of Yanomami lands and the constant threats by politicians both of the government and opposition to reopen the Yanomami lands to prospecting so as to win votes in the elections, leading to land loss and illegal mineral exploitation, these mines will also subject the Yanomami to diseases to which they have no resistance;
6. The absurd removal of the Pataxo people of the Brazilian northeast to inferior lands where they have no food stocks. Those who will suffer most are mothers and children. All this is in benefit of some big land owners under the protection of politicians who are foreseeing the coming elections. All this is an affront to basic human dignity;
7. The construction of the Amaandua hydroelectric dam on the Cotingo River in the northern part of the Amazon, which will flood the Macuxi and Wapisana Indian lands. There is also an effort on the part of the government of Roraima to settle homeless Brazilian families on part of the lands that the Indians will lose;
8. The construction of the Balbina hydroelectric plant on the Uatuma River, which will flood the territory of the Waimiri-Atroari;
9. The transfer of the Guarani people of Ocoi on the Parana River to an area less than half the size of their own, because of the construction of the Itaipu hydroelectric project;

10. The threat of the termination of the special legal status of the Indian and the imposition of special criteria to establish who is a member of the Indian community, both projects undertaken by the president of a special planning commission of FUNAI (National Indian Foundation), Coronel Ivan Zanon;

11. The method used by FUNAI as a weapon to quiet indigenous people -- the large-scale contracting of Indian people as its employees;

12. The implantation of large-scale economic projects to introduce Indians to capitalism, thus diverting their attention from their own subsistence farming activities;

Confronted by these aggressions, the indigenous people of Brazil join together in body and spirit with the other indigenous peoples of other countries. Together, we may see our rights respected and achieve a peace similar to that which existed among us before the rise of capitalism, in which a few try to dominate everyone else.

To conclude, we should remember that a large part of the world's resources are in indigenous areas, and that the indigenous peoples are the best keepers of their lands; that it is all peoples -- not just the indigenous ones -- that the forces of capitalism, especially in the form of multinational corporations, want to exploit for their own enrichment.

Therefore we invite you to come to learn with us.

Without its native people, Brazil does not exist.

Lino Pereira
Miranha People
Representative Committee of the
Indigenous People of Brazil



"All of our Nations have the same basic troubles," and elder delegate from Brazil told the gathering. "The White People don't accept our way of life."

THE LAND QUESTION OF THE YANOMAMI INDIANS IN AMAZONIAN BRAZIL

Although the Ministry of the Interior of Brazil and the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) interdicted a 19 million acre area for the Yanomami last March, gold miners are still invading Yanomami lands. Interdiction is a "freeze" on the outside use of a land area; it is usually the first step toward establishing a protected land base for Indian peoples in Brazil. Yet the situation by September was uncontrollable, especially on the Venezuelan border near the Serra Uratanin, according to a member of the special frontier battalion (BEF) of the Amazon region.

The situation has become even worse over the past month, as members of two political parties -- anticipating the elections this November -- mounted pressure to mine the gold wealth in the Yanomami lands. They have encouraged miners to exploit what by law and heritage belong to the Yanomami Indians.

There is an urgent need, therefore, to delimit the 19 million acres of land already interdicted for the Yanomami in March through Decree No. GM025. Unless these measures are taken, the 10,000 Yanomami will continue to be exposed to the invasion of miners and the whim of local politicians.

Despite many efforts to close down the Santa Rosa mining site, a state-owned mining company called CODESAIMA (Companhia de Desenvolvimento de Roraima), which invaded the area in 1981, continues to occupy land and to mine along the Uricara River valley inside the interdicted area.

The Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park (CCPY), a Brazilian based support group, continues to urge the Brazilian authorities to delimit the Yanomami lands according to the boundaries defined last March by the decree of interdiction. In September of this year, during a meeting with local delegates of FUNAI, missionaries who work in the area and members of CCPY urgently recommended such a measure to the authorities in Brasilia. This recommendation was based on expert knowledge of the situation and lands of the Yanomami Indians.

An international campaign on behalf of the Yanomami has been waged since 1979. Many thousands of individuals and support groups have been pressuring the Brazilian government to create an indigenous reserve for the Yanomami. The case of the Yanomami has been brought before the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the IVth Russell Tribunal on Rights of Indians in the Americas, and many other international forums.

Claudia Andujar
Commission for the Creation
of the Yanomami Park



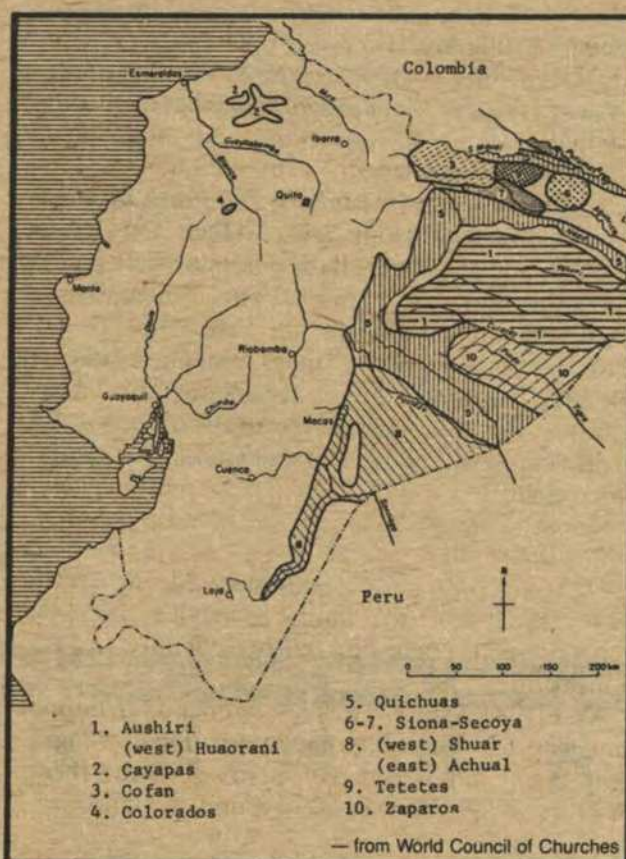
Ecuador:

Indigenous Development Through Confederation

Indians constitute between 45 and 55 percent of Ecuador's population. Most live in the Andean highlands, where for 450 years they have served as a labor pool for Spanish-speaking non-Indians. Indians in the Oriente, the Amazon jungle east of the highlands, number approximately 75,000. They subsist from the land, supplementing a wide variety of crops, especially manioc and plantains, with fish and game from the surrounding tropical forest. This combination provides a balanced, healthy diet. Oriente Indians are increasingly producing goods for sale on the national market. Many grow beans, peanuts, cacao, and corn; others have converted forests to pastures and begun to raise cattle.

Until recently, the Oriente Indians were largely autonomous. In the 16th century the Incas expanded their empire far into the Andean highlands, but they did not penetrate the Amazon lowlands of present-day Ecuador. Indigenous resistance was fierce in the southern Oriente, and to the north, powerful groups on the Napo River were treated with respect. When the Spanish arrived, their diseases—malaria, measles, small-pox—decimated Indian populations in the Oriente. But the Native People who survived remained relatively free of Spanish political control for more than 300 years.

Today, development plans for the Ecuadorian Amazon—many of which are supported by multinational lending or development agencies—are placing tremendous pressure on Oriente Indians. Some non-Indians in the Oriente see the indigenous peoples as colorful tourist attractions; most seek Indian land and natural resources. For them, the Oriente Indians are only impediments to national development schemes.



Enrique Nurinkias, Shuar representative from Peru, conferring with Armstrong Wiggins, Miskito, one of the conference organizers.

The South and West: Quichuas, Achual, and Shuar

Although many Quichuas, Achual, and Shuar live in the foothills of the Andes, neither they nor their lands became targets for development until the 20th century. Few colonists established themselves in the area, and the influence of Church and government officials was sporadic. When rubber gatherers enslaved many Amazonian Indians at the turn of the twentieth century, many Quichuas, Achual, and Shuar escaped to refuge zones in the western foothills—beyond the control of the rubber headquarters on the Amazon River and its major tributaries.

Around 1920 these enclaves were disrupted when the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Company began to explore for petroleum in the Oriente. Although it produced no oil, Shell built a road from Banor to Puyo during its exploration. This was the first avenue into Ecuador's Amazon region. Colonists and missionaries spilled into the area. Some Indians moved voluntarily into the interior; others were pushed off their land. Quichua settlements along the Napo became linked to non-Indians by patron-client ties and debt peonage, and some groups near Puyo were awarded communal land titles.

The arrival of large numbers of colonist in the fertile Upano valley evoked a unique response from the Shuar residents. Aided at first by Salesian missionaries, the Shuar in 1964 organized their dispersed settlements into regional centers and later consolidated the regional groups into the Federation of Shuar Centers. From its headquarters in Sucua, the federation broadcasts radio education programs to Shuar children in their homes. The federation has concentrated on problems of land tenure and economic development. Its commissions have obtained many communal titles for Shuar settlements and have helped devise a range of agricultural and pastoral development programs.

This work, however, has by no means brought complete security to Shuar communities. A regional development agency, CREA, has promoted large-scale colonization projects in the Upano Valley. CREA asserts that lands occupied by the Shuar are unworked (*tierras Baldias*) and therefore the property of the government.

Shuar and CREA officials have been in conflict since the late 1960s. In 1979, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) awarded CREA a loan to develop Shuar land. Protest by the Shuar Federation led IDB to freeze the funds until Ecuador resolved the problems of land tenure in the area. The struggle nonetheless continues. After a recent border war with Peru, some government officials suggested the Ecuador's best defense would be a "living frontier," occupied by Ecuadorians who would validate the nation's claim to the disputed territory. The Shuar argue that the idea of a living frontier is ludicrous, for Shuar Indians already live throughout the area. Such programs, they assert, are pretexts to deprive the Shuar of land that they claim.

Though the territorial and cultural integrity of the Shuar is not yet secure, their defense has been more successful than that of other Indians in the area. Quichua populations on the Napo, Pastaza, and Aguarico Rivers have consequently followed the Shuar model and formed federations of their ethnic groups. In mid-1980, these federations united to form CONFENAIE, the Confederation of Indian Nations of Ecuadorian Amazonia. The aim of CONFENAIE is to consolidate all Indian communities in the region and develop a united strategy to obtain recognition for their land rights.

The North: Cofan, Siona-Secoya, and Huaorani

The Indian groups to the north are relatively small: the Cofan number fewer than 400, the Siona-Secoya 500, and the Huaorani about 1,000. Until 25 years ago, the Cofan and Siona-Secoya were almost the only people living along the Aguarico River. To the south, the Huaorani, famed for their hostility toward outsiders, lived in isolation beside small tributaries between the Napo and Pastaza Rivers.

Until the early 1970s, the Indians of the north were even more isolated than those in the south and west. At that time, oil-exploration teams in the northern Oriente found large deposits of high-quality petroleum and drilled many wells in the Aguarico region. By 1972, Ecuador had become the second-largest oil producer in South America. To transport crude petroleum from the interior jungle to the Pacific coast ports, a pipeline and a parallel



access road were built. Many other roads have since been built as new wells were opened, most recently in the area south of the Napo.

Oil production has been harmful to the Indians of the region. The wells and their occasional spills have in some areas polluted the water and air. Siona-Secoya report a diminution of fish in the rivers. More important, the major access road from the highlands and its network of feeder roads have opened the area to colonists. Smaller trails opened by logging companies have penetrated even farther into the interior. The region now contains tens of thousands of colonists, mainly from the Andean highlands. Many Indian communities are now islands in a sea of colonists, finding it increasingly difficult to subsist from the forest.

The situation has worsened as agroindustrial firms have taken advantage of the improved access to markets resulting from infrastructural develop-

ment. Several large and expanding African palm plantations have been established on land next to Indian communities. The small size of these Indian groups and their inexperience in asserting their rights before non-Indians have left the Cofan, Siona-Secoya, and Huaorani nearly powerless to resist resource depletion and colonization.

These peoples, however, have benefited from two recent developments. First, the more experienced CONFENAIE has been working to incorporate the three small groups into the confederation. Second, some progress has been made toward land demarcation. Following a series of meetings in May 1979, indigenous representatives from all Oriente groups emphasized the need for a secure territorial base, a concern frequently voiced but never so uniformly presented. Social scientists from a regional development agency helped organize a commission to study Indian land claims and provide formal title to their land. The first Indians selected for assistance were the three northern groups, chosen as those most seriously threatened by development and least prepared to defend their rights. Land studies were undertaken from June to September 1980; some surveying has been done, and formal titles are pending.

Land and Development in the Oriente

Indian subsistence is generally based on shifting agriculture, which includes long fallow periods when land is used for hunting and fishing. This system requires extensive landholdings. Developers often say that these uses are inefficient and tie up land that colonists could use for production for the national market. Indeed, under Ecuador's agrarian reform law, lands declared to be *tierras baldias* or otherwise inefficiently used are subject to expropriation.

In response, the Shuar Federation has obtained funds for cattle-raising projects, and cattle raising is now widespread in the southern and eastern Oriente. These projects bring Indians into the na-

tional economy, but cattle raising is ecologically unsound and likely to have diminishing returns.

Two alternatives to cattle raising are takings shape in the northern Oriente. Some Indian landholdings have been established next to national parks and faunal reserves. Indians can use the parks for subsistence without upsetting their ecological balance, and the Indian lands form a buffer against encroachment on the parks by colonists.

Furthermore, Ecuador's new forestry laws provide that land under forest production is exempt from expropriation. Indians can not take part in national development schemes, without fear of losing their land, through sustained-yield forestry management and agroforestry. Lands of the Cofan, Siona-Secoya, and Huaorani are being considered for pilot projects.

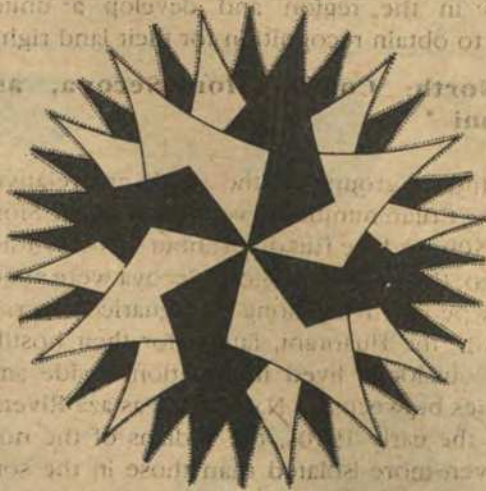


These activities are economically and ecologically superior alternatives to cattle raising. But the success of rational models of development depends on the growing strength of organizations such as CONFENAIE. When they become sufficiently powerful, their members will no longer feel obligated to adopt standard development practices. By establishing sounder sustained-yield methods, they will build up defenses against colonists and agribusiness and prevent the destruction of both the tropical forest and their own way of life.

Theodore Macdonald

In the Pacific:

An Anti-Nuclear Native Nationalist Movement



PACIFIC ISLANDERS STATEMENT
Native Resource Control and the Multinational Corporate Challenge - Aboriginal Rights in International Perspective

Date: 15 October, 1982

Delegates: Emmett Aluli, Colette Machado, Simone Durutalo, and Alvin Jacklick

Although Pacific Islanders are not suffering the gross violation of human rights to the same extent as our Mayan brothers and sisters, we too must fight for self-determination. Because we live on small islands, our livelihood depends on a limited amount of natural resources. For several decades the U.S., British, French and Japanese governments have used our valuable lands and waters for their military installations, and nuclear testing, which have destroyed our health and environment.

Many Pacific Islanders are not standing by idly. Today, 1,000 people are occupying the U.S. missile range on Kwajalein atoll in the Marshall Islands. They are the Kwajalein landowners who are protesting the "slum" conditions they have been forced to endure. When the missile range was built in 1964, hundreds of landowners were relocated to Ebeye, a 65-acre area, in overcrowded, concentrated camps, with diseases, un-employment and suicide rates among the highest in the world.

In Belau, the people have adopted the first anti-nuclear constitution in the world, and the government of Vanuatu has taken the lead and turned away an American naval vessel because it may have been armed with nuclear weapons.

Another threat to the Pacific Islanders' self-determination is the exploitation of natural resources and our cultures by foreign corporations.

1. Tourism is one of the most devastating industries. It is destroying our coastal areas and eroding our culture faster than other industries. It has destroyed the authentic nature of our cultures and turned them into plastic coca-cola cultures.

2. The timber industries have decimated the irreplaceable tropical forests of islands such as Fiji, Samoa, Tahiti and Hawaii, while American and Japanese fishing companies are totally destroying our fisheries which we depend upon for our subsistence.

Unless Pacific Islanders gain the right to self-determination, our ocean beds will soon be stripped and mined of manganese, and their toxic waste products returned to pollute our shores. The U.S. and Japan also plan to use the Pacific as nuclear waste dumping grounds.

In Hawaii, the entire Island of Kaho'olawe is bombed and shelled by the U.S. Navy. This Island is sacred to native Hawaiians, and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Bi-annually, the navies of Canada, Japan, New Zealand, and Australia joins the U.S. in desecrating our shrine with their combined target practices.

These and untold other activities will destroy our fragile environment, delicate lifestyles, and rob generations to come of a cultural identity and national pride.

We in the Pacific see this conference as an important step toward furthering international recognition of our self-determination struggles and those of other indigenous peoples around the world.

Nicaragua's Indian War

A Mistake Of Tragic Proportions



As 1982 comes to a close the tragedy of the war in the Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua between an Indian people and the Managua government becomes increasingly apparent. On July 19, the Commander of the Revolution, Daniel Ortega Saavedra issued a statement from the city of Masaya which gave an indication of the scale and intensity of the conflict:

"We have stated that Nicaragua is undergoing a silent, yet bloody invasion. More than 20,000 Somocista guardsmen have been launching attacks all along our border with Honduras, and occasionally deep into our territory, after having been infiltrated by land, sea and even air from Honduran territory to Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. This is not a figment of the imagination. In Kilambe, Wina, Cerro Jesus, Somotillo, Limbaika, San Fernando and Tortuguero, among other places, from July 4th to the present more than 18 attacks have been launched, with a death toll of 50 heroic soldiers of our Sandinista People's Army, our Reserve Battalions, our People's Militia, and our Ministry of the Interior, as well as 18 wounded."

Few journalists have been allowed into the Atlantic Coast region but it is well established that the "Somocista guardsmen" Mr. Ortega is referring to are in fact Indians. A year ago the Nicaraguan government evacuated the communities on the Coco River in a forced march. Within a week an estimated 9,000 Miskitos fled across the border into Honduras. Nicaragua established a relocation area which they called Tasba Pri and which presently houses an estimated 7700 Miskito Indians in five encampments.

Conditions in the camps have been the source of some concern. On September 5, the *Baltimore Sun* reported that in recent months, food and medicines have been in short supply and that in one camp, "each Indian is receiving only one pound of rice, one pound of beans and two corn cobs a week." In the same article it is stated that: "The Indians can leave the camps only with permission." There is also reference to a "mass escape" plot at the camps which was foiled by

Nicaraguan police in July of this year. Mr. Manuel Cordero Cuadra, Minister-Counselor of the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, denied that the Miskitos are held virtual prisoners in the camps, stating on Sept. 21, "...the residents of the settlements are free to leave and live elsewhere..." ("Miskitos in Crossfire of Nicaraguan War")

On the same day, the *New York Times* reported that the Indians are unhappy in the resettlement camps. The *Times* article pointed to a conflict which arose as a result of the Sandinista effort to introduce Socialist organization in the form of farming cooperatives to Miskito people who traditionally hold their land in common but farm in individual plots used by families.

Julia Preston of National Public Radio gave the following analysis in her August 8th report from Tegucigalpa, Honduras:

"Now Indians opposed to the Sandinistas are organized in a group called MISURA. In 1981 its two main leaders, Steadman Fagoth and Brooklyn Rivera, both Miskito Indians, broke with the Sandinistas and fled into exile. At a location outside the Mocoron camp, MISURA leader Brooklyn Rivera issued a virtual call to war on the Sandinistas. 'They told us they will go for a military, not a peaceful solution to the Indian problem,' he said. 'We've told our people they have no alternative but to defend themselves with whatever they have in their hands.'"

"MISURA Indian leaders travel throughout northeastern Honduras instructing stray refugees to concentrate at the Mocoron camp. According to relief workers there, the Indians skim off a small but constant amount of free food to send down to the Nicaraguan border. There, MISURA Indians are training in guerrilla warfare in three different camps. MISURA bands run regular forays into Nicaragua to bring back cattle and food."

"MISURA is strengthened by the cultural unity of the Indians but weakened recently by a split between its two leaders, Steadman Fagoth and Brooklyn Rivera. Fagoth is closely associated with armed counter-revolutionaries, as they are called in Nicaragua, many of whom are former members of Somoza's National Guard. They are widely believed to be funded by the United States CIA."

"Last week a new wave of Indians poured into the Mocoron camp. A spokesman said that over 2,000 Indians abandoned their villages July 15th after Sandinista soldiers killed 23, including three women and two children. Other refugees' stories suggested fighting between the Indians and the Sandinista Army. In fact, MISURA leader Brooklyn Rivera claims that many villages in Nicaragua are in open insurrection. He said that attacks described by the Sandinista government as incursions by Somocista bands were in fact resistance by MISURA. But whatever the nature of the conflict between MISURA and the Sandinistas, the Indians, armed primarily with shotguns and machetes, now run the risk of sparking a larger war between Nicaragua and Honduras."

The board of World Mission of the Moravian Church, the denomination which includes as its membership a majority of the Miskito people, issued a memorandum on August 3 which stated, in part:

The current offensive parallels a smaller "operation Red Christmas" launched from Honduras in December 1981 with the apparent objectives of establishing a separatist Miskito enclave along the upper Rio Coco. This time, border installations all along the river have been attacked, and scattered fighting is reported in towns along the Atlantic Coast and in the area of Tasba Pri, where over 8,000 Miskito villagers were forcibly relocated after the December offensive..."

"...dialogue cannot succeed in the shadow of outside threats to Nicaraguan national security. The Miskito people and the Moravian Church are hostages in an international situation not of their own making, which severely hinders their efforts to defend ethnic and religious freedom in their own country."

"From the viewpoint of many U.S. policy analysts, attempts to destabilize Nicaragua are mischievous, and probably self-defeating: more likely to hasten than to halt the erosion of economic pluralism and political freedom in the country as a whole. From the viewpoint of the Miskito, the result has been catastrophic, it has wrought terror and destruction, divided families and left thousands homeless, and brought down on all of them hostility and suspicion of the authorities."

The Reagan Administration can be expected to continue and possibly to intensify its program of insults and threatening gestures towards Nicaragua, including CIA support of anti-Sandinista forces and strong support of Honduras. An even greater threat, however, may be the U.S. policy of doing unto Nicaragua as the Nixon Administration did unto Chile by drying up Nicaragua's access to international credits and trying to force Nicaragua into bankruptcy.

Meanwhile the fighting in the Atlantic Coast continues, the body count rises, and good faith efforts at some kind of negotiated settlement between the Sandinistas and the Miskitos have not been forthcoming.



GUATEMALA

In The Spirit of Jimmy Jones

— *Rios Montt's Evangelical
Death Trip Against the
Mayan People*

by Jim Fogarty
Ecumenical Committee of U.S. Citizens
in Mexico (Mexico City)

Most people are aware that an armed conflict is underway in Central America. However, not all are conscious of the ideological struggle being waged there by religious and pseudo-religious groups interested in influencing the final outcome of that bloody encounter. The ideological struggle within the Catholic church is well documented. It contrasts the role of those who support the theology of liberation with that of the more conservative elements which favor the status quo and are fearful of revolutionary change.

A similar polarization process can be noted within the Protestant churches. While many of the mainline denominations are supportive of the peoples' liberation struggles, a number of fundamentalist sects have undertaken a counterrevolutionary posture which has generated a good deal of speculation about their self-proclaimed "spiritual" mission. One notorious adherent of one of the most spurious pseudo-religious sects involved in the ideological conflict is the head of the ruling junta in Guatemala, General Efraim Rios Montt.

The fundamentalist experiment, headed by Montt, got underway in Guatemala with the coup d'etat of "young" generals who installed him as head of the new ruling junta on March 23, 1982. In June Montt became supreme ruler following his purge of rival junta members. Since then he has set himself the task of destroying all opposition to his self-proclaimed "mission" to root out all subversives and trouble-makers.

The ruling general claims to be a "born-again" fundamentalist. Reportedly he was "converted" by the same Ukiah Valley, California cultists who created the Rev. Jim Jones of Guyana fame. Since the March coup fundamentalist sects in the United States are said to have poured huge sums of money as well as personnel into Guatemala. American "born-again" such as Pat Robertson of the lucrative "700 Club" telecasts have called on their viewers to offer prayers for the success of the Rios Montt regime.

Montt has stated that the churches in the United States (fundamentalist) have offered him a billion dollars for his campaign. In other words, what the Reagan administration cannot do openly because of opposition from progressive church and human rights groups will be accomplished covertly through the activities of fundamentalists, right-wing, pseudo-Christians who support Reagan's interventionist policies in Central America.

While the origin and purpose of these fundamentalists in the U.S.A. are somewhat obscure, they obviously count on unlimited financial resources as well as U.S. government backing for their "missionary" activities abroad.

World Vision, one of the largest "non-denominational" missionary groups based in Pasadena, California, which undoubtedly has in many cases done credible work in alleviating human suffering, is now reported, however, to be a staunch collaborator of the repressive Rios Montt regime.

Traditionally a predominantly Catholic country, Guatemala is now almost 20% non-Catholic. This phenomenon is due, in part, to the failure of the Catholic hierarchy to support popular demands for social justice. The cardinal in Guatemala City, Casariego, is a noted reactionary. Priests who supported popular causes have been persecuted ruthlessly. In recent years, several priests and religious leaders have been assassinated because of their involvement with popular liberation struggles. A Catholic bishop who sought to defend the poor in the Quiche area has been forced into exile. Those who speak and act as authentic Christians are often put on the "hit list."

On the other hand, fundamentalist sects have not only been given a free rein; they also have been favoured and supported by the government. The word "evangelical" is widely used to describe all non-Catholic churches. "Evangelica" in Spanish may refer to mainline Protestant churches as well as a wide variety of sects including Rios Montt's Church of the Word. Well-known reactionary, American-based groups such as Jehovah Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventists, and various Pentecostal bodies are actively engaged in the ideological counter-revolution in Central America.

The ideological penetration sponsored by the fundamentalist sects is having its impact on the social and political struggle in Guatemala. On the one hand, they tend to confuse and polarize the people. On the other hand, they preach a doctrine of spiritual fatalism of apocalyptic proportions. Their preaching precludes any concern for mundane affairs such as revolutionary struggles to bring about a more just society. They emphasize status quo acceptance of political and socio-economic realities. And they extol the American Way of Life as well as blind respect for authority in all temporal matters.

Gen. Rios Montt, in his self-proclaimed messianic role as Saviour of Guatemala, claims to rule by Divine Right. In this capacity he has initiated a state of siege as well as a "scorched-earth," counter-insurgency operation. Police and military forces have unlimited powers to arrest without charges. The right to habeas corpus has been revoked. And the genocidal war of extermination against Indians and campesinos (rural workers) goes on unabated in an area that has been deliberately chosen for depopulation warfare experiments.

On October 10, 1982 Amnesty International reported that 2,600 people have been assassinated since Montt came to power. Entire villages have been burned to the ground and the inhabitants including old people, pregnant women and little children have been tortured and executed in a diabolical manner. According to Amnesty, Montt's "brave" soldiers killed several babies in the El Quiche operation by bashing their heads against rocks in a nearby river.

In the meantime, the Reagan administration proposes to increase financial aid to the genocidal dictator in the amount of 18 million dollars through the Inter-American Development Bank because the human rights situation has "improved greatly" under the Rios Montt administration. On September 10, public executions were carried out in a cemetery outside Guatemala City where four suspected guerrillas, convicted by a secret military tribunal, were put to death by firing squad. Many other suspects awaits a similar fate.

The Rios Montt crusade is a special project of multi-national economic interests supported by the United States Department and intelligence circles. Basic Resources International, S.A. (BRISA) was the first company to explore and find oil in Guatemala



Jimmy Jones' empty seat—throne shortly after the mass enforced suicide of his followers in Guyana—a forewarning of the evangelical madness currently confronting the Mayan Peoples.

in the mid-1970s. It currently holds title to exploration rights to about one million acres in the Franja Transvaal which borders with the Mexican state of Chiapas. **General Vernon Walters, special ambassador to former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, previously was BRISA's representative to the Guatemalan government. Nominally, he resigned from all private positions on joining the Reagan administration.** However, sources in Guatemala report that as late as May 1981, Walters represented the interests of the company in talks with local government officials.

BRISA is owned by Anglo-French (Rothschild) interests with some United States (Rockefeller) money mixed in. The year Walters went on the payroll of the corporation, the director of Credito Varesina, an affiliate of Roberto Calvi's Banco Ambrosiano (Italian) joined the board of BRISA.

Another Haig advisor, Michael Ledeen, was accused by the Italian press of accepting payoffs from the Propaganda-2 Masonic Lodge with which Calvi was associated.

The now famous Italian "P-2", under legal investigation in Italy, has been cited as supporting reactionary, dictatorial regimes in Latin America, while the controversial "letters of credit" issued to Calvi by Archbishop Marcinkus, Director of the Vatican Bank, have yet to be clarified. The "letters of credit" were used to bolster Calvi's financial enterprises in Latin America. The now bankrupt Banco Ambrosiano is under investigation by the Italian government and the Vatican is being pressured to make known its involvement with its former director, Roberto Calvi, whose body was found hanging from a rope under Blackfriars' bridge in London last June.

The grotesque international proportions of the

The conscience of the civilized world must be aroused to put an end to this outrage. World leaders seem to learn little from history, and the crimes committed against humanity in Nazi Germany now seem to be ignored and even condoned by the tolerant attitude of today's leaders toward the genocidal slaughter being perpetrated in countries like Guatemala.



These Indian women are survivors of army massacres in Chajul, El Quiche. They now live in one of Rios Montt's "strategic hamlets" in Chajul. Many campesinos who do not flee the country are interned in these villages modelled after those in Viet Nam. They are fed by the Guatemalan government with money from US AID and kept under close supervision. The men are often forced to participate in the government's so-called "peasant militias". US based evangelical preachers urge them to respect the government and the army.



Guatemalan tragedy highlight the bizarre role of the puppet general who blasphemes God's name and religion by using them to disguise his nefarious purpose to exterminate his own people at the service of the international imperialism of Mammon.

The conscience of the civilized world must be aroused to put an end to this outrage. World leaders seem to learn little from history, and the crimes committed against humanity in Nazi Germany now seem to be ignored and even condoned by the tolerant attitude of today's leaders toward the genocidal slaughter being perpetrated in countries like Guatemala. Christians and others who value the sacred character of life, must raise their voices in protest against this deliberate perversion of religion by cultists like Montt and other self-styled fundamentalists whose words and actions contradict the basic principles on which Christianity is founded.

Catholic church leaders at the highest level, would be well advised to reassess their evaluation on the revolutionary conflict in Central America. The recent Papal condemnation of Catholics who support the Nicaraguan revolution is regarded as reactionary and retrogressive. It is also being interpreted as a political gesture in response to President Reagan's call for the United States-Vatican alliance against Marxist "subversives" in Latin America. The much proclaimed "option for the poor" must be seen in action if the Catholic church is to have credibility among the impoverished and exploited masses.

The situation inside Guatemala is increasingly difficult. Recent delegations which have returned from inside consistently note their surprise at the amount of control which the Guatemalan army exerts over the civilian population. One New York Times reporter who recently visited the area of San Martin Jilotepeque stated that the "refugees" in the army camps had been instructed by the army what to say, under threat of death if they should give a different account. She also reported that in addition to the army massacre of 300 on October 5th, another 200 people had "disappeared" and are believed by their families to have been clandestinely killed.

The Reagan administration's response to these conditions is to further attempt to renew military aid and increase economic aid to Guatemala, aid which will only sophisticate the manner in which the massacres of the Guatemalan people occur. The administration's latest effort attempts to use the Inter-American Development Bank to channel funds to Guatemala. It exemplifies a side of U.S. intervention which is not often adequately dealt with — economic aid and its use to build an infrastructure which is used for further repression. The New York Times article also points out that U.S. military aid may well already be flowing to Guatemala —

even though it was officially cut off in 1977. The article mentions A-37 fighter planes being overhauled in the U.S., and 200 pounds of "unspecified substance" pending shipment from Homestead, Florida. These discoveries, in addition to the Green Beret "English teachers" indicate that the Reagan administration is already sending military aid and is acting in direct violation of its own agreements with Congress.

In addition to trying to get the Reagan administration to send more U.S. government aid, the Guatemalan government is employing other methods to gain support for their repressive regime. The following article on Gospel Outreach/Lovelift shows how Rios Montt and his California-based church are appealing to thousands of Evangelical Christians in the U.S. It is extremely important that we be informed about their activities and challenge them on their claims of offering a "new way of life" for the Guatemalan people.



Christians Beware!

Donations You Give May Kill People

Immediately after the February 1976 earthquake the Gospel Outreach of Eureka, California, sent missionaries to Guatemala to help rebuild houses and schools. Along with their construction work they proselytized. It was with this group that the Guatemalan Church of "El Verbo" was born.

General Efraín Ríos Montt, the current Guatemalan president, was converted to this Church in 1978. Carlos Ramírez was at that time the Guatemalan elder of "El Verbo" Church. According to reports from this Eureka-based Church Ríos Montt has been active in Church-related activities since his conversion. It was said at the time of the "coup d'état" that he was called from a parent-teacher conference at his Christian school to become President.

In order to put "the face of religion" on his regime he "takes to the air waves" each Sunday evening to preach to his people about Christian principles.

In the *New York Times* of May 20, 1982 Ray Bonner stated that according to General Efraín Ríos Montt, "the military Junta (at that time the triumvirate was still in power) has asked for neither military nor economic aid from the United States, primarily because the country has been offered millions of dollars by evangelical Christians in the United States." In lieu of this, the Project International Lovelift has been launched by Gospel Outreach, the U.S.-based Church which has its "El Verbo" branch in Guatemala. Lovelift is the relief arm of this Eureka Church. This project has sent out much literature to the U.S. Churches, explaining how "God's miracle (which they feel is Ríos Montt) in Guatemala has opened a door of unprecedented opportunity to all of us." The mailed information continues as a plea for financial assistance, and more collaboration among U.S. churches. The motive: "This will bless Guatemala and show the world that when a nation turns to God and God's people unite, His marvelous plan is fulfilled."

The letters go on to explain that Project Lovelift wants to relieve the hunger and underdevelopment of these people. The plan is to provide shelter, food, tools, and medicine. Christian organizations

such as Billy Graham Association, Pat Robertson and the 700 Club, Bill Bright's Campus Crusades for Christ, Jerry Falwell and others who "love their neighbor" are mobilizing to send down as many as a thousand trucks of supplies, medicine, and emergency relief. Youth with a Mission have contributed the use of their ship. And PanAm airlines have offered the use of any surplus cargo space to transport any supplies.

At the same time that these mailings are reaching the churches, Carlos Ramírez, the presiding elder of Gospel Outreach in Guatemala, is meeting with church leaders and fellowship groups throughout the United States. He is promoting the image of Ríos Montt as the "hand of God" at work. Comparing Guatemala to Israel he speaks of Guatemala as an "insignificant country, yet it has spiritual connotation. God wants to show us something through Guatemala."

Ramírez goes on to explain that Ríos Montt has deep feelings for his people, especially the Indians "who have been abandoned for hundreds of years." Human rights have improved since Ríos Montt took office, Carlos Ramírez assures us. It is only the media here in the United States that is slandering us and discrediting our government. "CBS report made Francisco Bianchi look like a fool; Amnesty International condemns us from a distance", complains this Elder.

After this background lauding Montt and finding fault with U.S. coverage Ramírez pleads for financial help because "our brother Efraín" inherited a bankrupt country with an ill-equipped army which needs helicopter parts. "I need 'mercy helicopters' to go out to the villages to help my brothers," he quotes Ríos Montt as saying. Then he asks the audience to go before the Lord and see what they as "believers" are asked to do for Guatemala.

The public relations history of the Gospel Outreach Church in Guatemala has the appearance of good, of fulfillment of a Christian commitment. This is what makes this whole project more insidious. The language is the rhetoric used by the Churches. The whole approach of love of God and neighbor seems so fully Christian. The relationship drawn between Old Testament Israel and

Guatemala, both as small nations but designed by God to be the greatest of nations, appeals to a religious person, grounded in the Bible. Ríos Montt could be "lifted out" of the prophetic books of the Old Testament as one who speaks for God.

Only "by the fruits" can such a "satanic" movement be attacked and shown as sham. Viewing what is coming out of the government of Ríos Montt and the thrust of Project Lovelift to delude the U.S. Churches reminds us of Scripture's vivid portrayal, "a whited sepulchre filled with dead man's bones."

How does the escalation of killings, especially among the Indians, coincide with Ríos Montt's great desire to help the Indians "who have been abandoned so long?"

In what way does the burning of civilians — men, women, and children — their homes and their land strengthen family life that is so often the topic of his Sunday night sermons?

Why do the thousands of refugees fleeing to Mexico, Belize, and Honduras uniformly insist that it is the army that kills and General Efraín is the commander and chief of this army?

How can this "born-again Christian" destroy the unborn and the mothers of these children?

Project Lovelift will continue to tour the United States. With people acting in a meaningful way, some of this poisonous propaganda can be averted. It can even be an opportunity for alerting people as to what the real situation of Guatemala is.

Be aware of any sign of International Lovelift being promoted among your church leaders. Seek indigenous ways of being able to attend a session. Then gently ask undermining questions which will "drop the bottom out" of their proclamations of the greatness of the Guatemalan government.

Be aware of International Lovelift advertisements in your newspapers and magazines. Counteract with letters to the editor and/or complaints to the newspaper or magazine for carrying such false propaganda.

Alert your church leaders of this campaign and explain to them the dichotomy of what is said and what the reality of the Guatemala situation is showing.

Another Broken Treaty

Failure to Implement James Bay Agreement Results in Death of Eight Children



The historic 1975 James Bay Agreement (JBA) has not been implemented in Cree and Inuit communities in northern Quebec. The Cree people gave up their aboriginal land rights to 400,000 square miles of land in exchange for \$225 million spread over 21 years and some hunting and fishing rights. Included in the agreement were provisions that the federal government improve housing, water and sewage systems. The JBA was made in haste (the dam was under construction during the negotiations), and money to finance the agreement for housing, water and sewage was not allocated. The result is that the Crees have not received the benefits they were promised although vast areas of the land which has provided them with sustenance lies under water.

During the spring of 1980 eight children under 2 years of age died from gastro-enteritis, a stomach disorder resulting in severe diarrhea leading to dehydration, and often, death.

The village of Fort Rupert where 140 Cree families live (1,100 people) is reachable only by air transport. During 1980, 85 percent of children under 2 years of age in this village had diarrhea and one child died. A look at living conditions in Fort Rupert indicates there are reasons behind poor health. Water for the community is drawn directly from the Rupert River. It is then chlorinated and stored in a 200 gallon tank and the people of the village carry this water to their homes, where it is stored in plastic garbage cans.

It has been stated that the water loses its drinking quality when stored in such a manner. Further investigation reveals that the water is of questionable quality when it is taken from the Rupert River since raw sewage from the new clinic is pumped into the Rupert River about 250 metres above the water intake pipe.

Wastewater and septic systems for this Cree community consist of dry-pit toilets with drainage ditches. These pits often overflow and drain into ditches and low points in the village. The Fort Rupert school, clinic, air service and Catholic mission each dump their wastes into a ditch that runs through the village. Daniel Berrouard, biologist, reports: "the village is crisscrossed with ditches draining runoff water, including, of necessity, untreated wastewater. An enormous ditch about 4 metres wide cuts across the whole village. It was dug in 1974 when installation of the sewer and water supply system was being envisioned. Today it is apparently a favourite playground for the children. This environment is not only dangerous during heavy rains but also acts as a haven for insects and micro-organisms during the summer when water in it is nearly stagnant."

It is interesting to note that in Fort Rupert it is the non-Indians who have running water and septic tanks.

The Cree village of Nemaska has no access roads and is reachable only by air or motorized canoe. The 35 families (about 200 people) live in tents. Their only source of water is a surface well in the

center of the village from which they carry their water to their homes. This well is severely contaminated. They also use dry-pit toilets. The January 1982 issue of *ONTARIO INDIAN* reports, that "four children were born that year and four children died. Thus an entire generation was eliminated... In August 1980 the Grand Council of the Cree was abruptly shaken when it received word that four-month old Tommy Wapachee had died. Born in the isolated community of Namaska, Tommy had been flown into Val d'Or for medical treatment. He was suffering from constant diarrhea and vomiting, symptoms that are typical of gastroenteritis, a major killer in the third world. Although Tommy was taken several times to the St. Sauveur Hospital in Val d'Or, he was never admitted. The office verdict of Tommy Wapachee's last illness was 'crib death'."

Gastro-enteritis is not the only epidemic disease found in Cree country. Dr. Moffatt from Montreal Childrens Hospital, Dr. Diane Hebert, and Dr. Robinson visited the Cree village of Mistassini to investigate a tuberculosis (TB) epidemic. Drs. Moffatt and Hebert visited Mistassini in February 1981. Their report discusses the effort to catch up with "the burden of chronic disease which exists in the area." Dr. Moffatt noted that on this trip only two children out of 48 were sent to the Montreal hospital. During his last visit 10 children out of 70 were sent to Montreal. In the 20 months preceding, and including this visit, seven active cases of TB in children were found, plus two adults who were under treatment for TB, the same disease. There were also dozens of children with positive TB tests who required treatment. Dr. Moffatt says, "the incidence of tuberculosis in Canadian Indians is at least four times as high as it is in the rest of the country. There are large numbers of adults walking around with untreated or partially treated Tuberculosis which could reactivate at any time. Housing conditions are still crowded and sanitation poor." Cases of malnutrition were also found. He further stated: "the management of Tuberculosis should be guided by experts, as general practitioners have virtually no opportunity to treat Tuberculosis during their medical training."

The clinic at Mistassini has 3 full-time nurses. They need a full-time doctor and their nursing station is not stocked with enough emergency medication.



Dr. Robinson reports, "In the past year since January 1980, five cases have been diagnosed, of active TB. Four are in children and young people, and one in a 50 year old man... Five cases is a lot for a reserve the size of Mistassini (2,125 people) and I am sure we will find others very shortly, because as yet very few people have been tested for it. In Fort George, according to a study by Dr. Belleau, five cases were seen from 1972 to 1977..." the report continued.

The doctors agree that adequate preventative screening measures, ie. skin tests and chest x-rays for TB, are not conducted on an adequate and consistent basis. Dr. Moffatt states: "there has been no systematic screening for TB in Mistassini since 1974-75." Adequate care for TB requires treatments every month for 1 to 1 1/2 years.

Dr. Robinson made a vital suggestion that the midwives in the community should be consulted regarding prenatal care and "breastfeeding should be discussed with all pregnant women - we should try and find out if they have tried it, what the problems were, what they think about it and then explain that it helps protect the baby from serious colds, ear infections and gastroenteritis." She also urged the staff of Chibourgamau hospital to encourage breastfeeding. This is a crucial element in preventing gastroenteritis since most drinking water sources are contaminated.

Dr. Bruce Brown reported that to the best of his knowledge he was the first doctor to visit the village in six months. It is very obvious that regular visits by doctors or having a full-time doctor are a critical need in the James Bay area. The Chibourgamau hospital had only 3 physicians for 14,000 people. Dr. Brown found pneumonia, perforated ear-drums, chronically draining ears and referred to a 1978 whooping cough epidemic and a 1980 measles epidemic. He found that only 10 percent of the children between ages 0 to 5 years were up-to-date on their vaccinations. The failure to implement the JBA is serious, indeed deadly, for the Cree people. To understand the living conditions and the changes brought about by the James Bay Agreement it is important to understand that the Cree people live a life of hunting and trapping. Often they live out in the bush for seven months out of the year and/or in isolated villages. In the bush they were not faced with contaminated drinking water or sewage disposal or drainage ditches. It is only after the James Bay Agreement when large portions of their hunting and trapping territories were flooded for the hydroelectric project that they were relocated to facsimiles of "village or small towns." These small towns were constructed hastily without running water or proper septic or sewage disposal. This was a difficult transition for the Cree people. These days, they are advised to boil their drinking water for 20 minutes before using it and they are asked to use "honey bags" to dispose of wastes. They have been forced to make a transition from a clean lifestyle in the bush to a lifestyle of contamination in these small towns.

Dr. Robinson made a vital suggestion that the midwives in the community should be consulted regarding prenatal care, and breastfeeding should be discussed with all pregnant women - we should try to find out if they have tried it, what the problems were, what they think about it and then explain that it helps protect the baby from serious colds, ear infections and gastroenteritis. She also encouraged the staff of Chibourgamau hospital to encourage breastfeeding. This is a crucial element in preventing gastroenteritis since most drinking water sources are contaminated.

Adequate health services are severely lacking. A Health and Welfare Canada report of March 3, 1981 said "water from the wells was not safe for drinking...and needed a special treatment before consumption."

Seventy-five percent of the 2,125 Cree people from Mistassini Band live the traditional life of fishing. Mrs. Longchamp, a Cree from Mistassin says, "Every winter, she moves out to the bush and lives in a tent...it's warmer there, the earth protects me." Chisasibi has the only hospital for 8 Cree communities. Hospital services were part of the James Bay Agreement, but sufficient funds are not available to operate the hospital.

The *Globe and Mail* (Ottawa) reported on May 27, 1981 that a parliamentary committee had "directed Miss. Begin (Health Minister Monique Begin) to convene discussions involving herself, Indian Affairs Minister John Munro, Quebec Social Affairs Minister Pierre Marc Johnson and Cree health officials to unravel the tangle of jurisdictional and financial problems that are plaguing the delivery of basic services to the natives." Monique Begin has held that she can do nothing, except as a consultant because health care has become the responsibility of the Cree Health Board and the Province of Quebec as of April 1979 under the terms of the James Bay Agreement. Housing, sewage and garbage are the responsibility of Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Environmental concerns are under the Province of Quebec.

The *Globe and Mail* further stated; "Jurisdictional jockeying has left the Cree with what Miss Begin agrees is poor sanitation and housing, which have contributed to incidents of stomach disorders and even deaths among the Indians in the James Bay area."

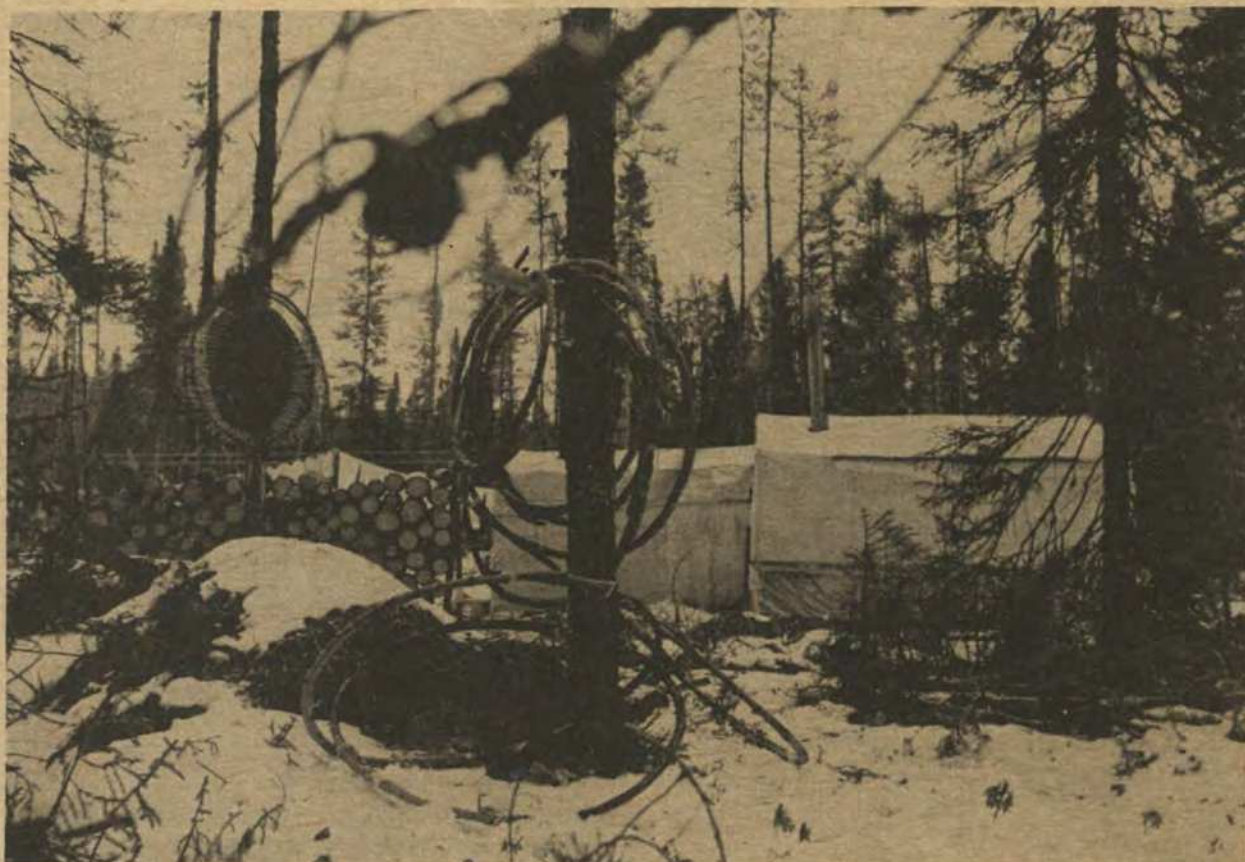
A letter from a nurse at Paint Hills, a Cree community of 700 whose only water source is contaminated stated: "I am still always expecting an epidemic of gastro-enteritis, hepatitis or other infectious disorders, relative to awfully unsanitary living conditions."

The federal government will take action only if the Province of Quebec and the Cree Health Board request federal assistance.

The Cree have spent \$1 million of their settlement monies from the JBA to provide emergency health services and another million to provide clean water to stop the gastro-enteritis epidemic. This money has been taken out of their monies designated for economic development. It has, however, stopped the deaths of children, although conditions have not by any means improved permanently. The Cree people bought and sterilized water containers which were delivered to the homes with portable (safe for drinking) water. This, plus rebuilding outhouses helped to stop the epidemic of gastroenteritis.

In September of 1980 a request was made of the Federal government for the \$1 million to stop the epidemic in Nemaska and Rupert House. The request was denied because it was too costly. So the Cree implemented the clean water program at their own expense. After many months of intense negotiations and much publicity, funds were approved and paid. One must conclude that if the Cree did not have the money to provide clean water the babies would still be dying.

The Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, John Munro, published "James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement Implementation



A Cree Bush Hunting Camp

Photo Credit: Claus Biegert

Review," during February 1982. This report concludes that when the JBA was signed in 1975 the Cree and Inuit peoples expected "to advance and prosper as full participants in the social and economic life of Quebec and Canada while still preserving their traditional culture and lifestyles. Now, over six years after the signing, it is clear that many of these expectations have not been met."

It is interesting to note that under the topic "Environmental Health Conditions in the Cree Communities" this statement is made: "It is also true that the overall issue of health care is closely linked and dependent on the living conditions in the communities. There will not be significant improvements in health conditions until there are improvements in overall living conditions and, in particular, essential sanitation services." The report tells of a federal letter "of undertaking also obligated Canada to 'undertake studies to identify the feasibility and costs of constructing water and sewage systems for the ... (community of) Eastmain and PROVIDED THAT A SUITABLE SYSTEM CAN BE BUILT AT A REASONABLE COST... will construct such a system.'" This certainly provides a loophole to say the water and sewage systems are too costly and will not be built. There is always an option or a legal entanglement or a jurisdictional dispute to delay or omit building proper facilities, such as this statement, "The review team could find no evidence that it was intended that Canada should assume total responsibility for funding these projects or that Canada was obligated to carry out

the projects immediately upon signing the Agreement." Does immediately stretch to six years? The report further states, "The assumption by Canada of responsibilities which clearly rest with Quebec, even if it was legally possible, would do little to enhance overall implementation of the Agreement."

The Cree have strongly stated their position of health care provisions of the JBA. "The primary purpose of Section 14 was, in the view of the Cree, to establish a Cree run health care system, operating through the Cree Board of Health and Social Services, and with its operational centre at Fort George. In their view the Health Board has not been given the authority or funding necessary to fulfill the aims of Section 14."

"The Cree contend that two major issues are at the root of their current health problems:

1) the failure of Canada and Quebec to provide adequate housing and infrastructure and in particular the lack of essential sanitation services as provided for in Section 28.11.1 of the Agreement and:

2) the failure of Canada and Quebec to fulfill the provisions of Section 14 dealing with the delivery of health care services."

The federal government of Canada turned over the responsibility for health care of the Cree and Inuit to Quebec. During negotiations the Cree expressed a wish to continue Federal assistance in health services through funding, but the "Federal and Provincial governments rejected the idea of joint Federal-Provincial involvement." In fact, the federal government says that "Canada is not in a position to determine whether Quebec is adequately performing the duties they took from Canada." All of this bouncing of responsibilities leaves the Cree with essentially the same inadequate health services as existed before the JBA. Thus the JBA did not live up to the expectations of the Cree and Inuit peoples.

continued on page 30



WHY BABIES ARE DYING:

Health of Quebec Indians an 'atrocities'



By Pierre Tourangeau

QUEBEC - "Have you seen my son? He's in the room over there," the Montagnais Indian asked anthropologist Remi Savard as they chatted on a doorstep at St. Augustin Reserve, more the 900 kilometres northeast of Quebec City near the Quebec-Labrador border.

"I named him Remi, like you," the Montagnais said.

Savard looked in the room, saw nothing and, thinking he'd misunderstood the Indian, returned to the front step.

The Montagnais took the anthropologist by the arm and led him to a frost-coated Carnation milk carton. Inside lay the dead baby.

"He would have been two-months old today," the father said.

A month earlier, the baby had become sick and was taken to the whites' dispensary across the St. Augustin River from the reserve, where a nurse examined him and told the parents to take him home.

Mimicking the white nurses he has known on reserves, Savard says: "The Indians come here for nothing, and besides, they don't take the pills we give them."

The baby died that night.

The next day, the Indians were stopped by a helicopter-borne Quebec Police Force officer as they tried to bury the boy. They had no death certificate. The police took the body to Rimouski's medical-legal laboratory, Savard says, and the parents had no news for a month.

Savard recalled he'd seen a policeman carrying the milk carton across the reserve before he arrived at the Montagnais' home. The police brought the body back, "without an autopsy report, no explanation, nothing."

It's commonplace, Savard says, for the bodies of Indian children to be returned to their parents in pieces, in green plastic garbage bags or in boxes.

The infant mortality rate among Indians babies is more than double that of Canada's white population - 37.7 per 1,000 compared with 15 per 1,000 among whites.

The survivors of the first year after birth fare slightly better. The annual death rate among adult Indians is 13 per 1,000, compared with 7.4 per 1,000 among whites.

Native leaders and doctors blame a host of problems for the abysmal health of many of Quebec's 30,000 status Indians. But land, or rather the lack of it - for a people that once roamed unimpeded across hundreds of thousands of square kilometres - heads the list.

"From being nomads," says Richard Kistabish, chief of the northwestern Quebec Algonquin Abitibi Council, "we found ourselves shut up by the hundreds in enclosures the size of football fields."

"It is being dispossessed of our territory and being made sedentary, the abandoning of our traditional way of life, that has made us sick."

The transformation began about 40 years ago with the setting up of reserves in Quebec. From their tents, Indians moved into uninsulated or badly-insulated cabins, 15 or 20 people in each unelectrified dwelling.

The lack of running water and sewage systems on the reserves triggered annual epidemics of gastro-enteritis, an intestinal infection often fatal to infants and young children. Squalid living conditions led to recurring outbreaks of tuberculosis, pneumonia, meningitis, encephalitis, impetigo, ear infections.

Bob Epstein, a white adviser to Cree Grand Council Chief Billy Diamond, says: "If they were ever to do a study of Indian health - I mean the real thing - you would find that Indian health in Canada, not just in Quebec, is an atrocity."

A recent study on local health services carried out in 11 scattered Attikamek-Montagnais reserves on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River concluded that health problems in the Indian communities are similar to those found in "Underdeveloped countries."

And when some Indians shun the reserves, they become non-entities, adds Kistabish, like the 250-member Algonquin band moving about inside Ke La Verendrye Park. "Those people are squatters" for Quebec's Indian Affairs Bureau, say Kistabish. "They have no legal status for the government. They don't exist."

Dr. Roland Chamberland, who practiced for four years among the Algonquin, says those who have retained their traditional diet of game (where their animals have remained healthy) are in better condition than natives who have turned to canned foods, TV dinners "and other junk."

Since 1981, when eight Indian and Inuit children died after an outbreak of gastro-enteritis in their communities, native leaders and some health workers claim there has been little improvement.

During the epidemic, a total of 81 children were sent to hospital and while doctors tried to combat the often fatal dehydration caused by diarrhea, they found 22 of their patients had urinary tract infections, four cases of pneumonia, three ulcers, one case of meningitis, three cases of chicken pox, one of measles, eight cases of bacterial poisoning and numerous cases of blood and heart defects.

Gilbert Courtois, a health worker with the Attikamek-Montagnais Council, says part of the problem is that native people are subject to health care discrimination:

"In theory, Indians have the right to the same services as anyone else, but in practice, discrimina-



tion exists. It's partly involuntary, but nevertheless real."

Courtois says discrimination shows in the lack of organized transport to hospitals far from reserves, linguistic barriers between Indians who only speak a native language and French or English-speaking health personnel and the placing in foster homes of hundred of native children after stays in hospitals.

Attikamek-Montagnais Chief Rene Simon says "much misunderstanding" arises when natives are forced to use medical services because of unfamiliar procedures and lack of translators. He says the consequences of some medical operations are not understood, which indicates "clear consent" was not obtained by those undergoing operations.

'Doctors at fault'

At the Attikamek Reserve on Gouin Reservoir in north-central Quebec, several Indian women said in interviews that they had been persuaded to have their Fallopian tubes tied to prevent further pregnancies after they gave birth at white clinics.

Dr. Louis Dagenais, who headed the Attikamek-Montagnais health care study unit, says: "Several women were surprised to find out they couldn't bear children and assured us that while they had agreed to be operated on, they had not wanted to be sterilized."

"It's clear that the doctors are at fault in these cases because of the cultural and language barriers. And because of some retained attitudes - let's say its racism - the explanations given to Indians are insufficient."

But Monique Savoie, Quebec director for the federal Health and Welfare Department, says she has received few complaints. Because Quebec doesn't keep these kinds of statistics, it isn't known whether more sterilizations are carried out on Indians than whites.

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Traditionalism:

Traditionalism is a form of social organization based on principles developed by Native peoples centuries ago. Its goal is the redevelopment of community life and the empowerment of land-based peoples in ways which promote the survival of cultures and which provide a practice of social justice.

One of the reasons that the principles of traditionalism are so difficult to grasp is that the process is best developed when it is culturally specific. That means that there will be differences in the specific ways in which an Inuit community would be organized and the way a Lakota community is organized. The methodology, however, would be essentially the same for both and it is the methodology which is being discussed here.

Native communities are under tremendous pressure. Some of that pressure results from plans implemented over the past two centuries with a goal to "terminate the tribe" through destroying all the Native cultural traditions and usages. But such blatant programs of governments are not the only sources of pressure. The history of the world since the Industrial Revolution has also been a powerful force which works to destroy rural community life, and that force is impacting Native peoples throughout the world in some very negative ways. Traditionalism is a way of reorganizing the community in ways to resist those pressures and, through reempowering the people, to insure the survival of the communities, cultures and peoples of the natural world.

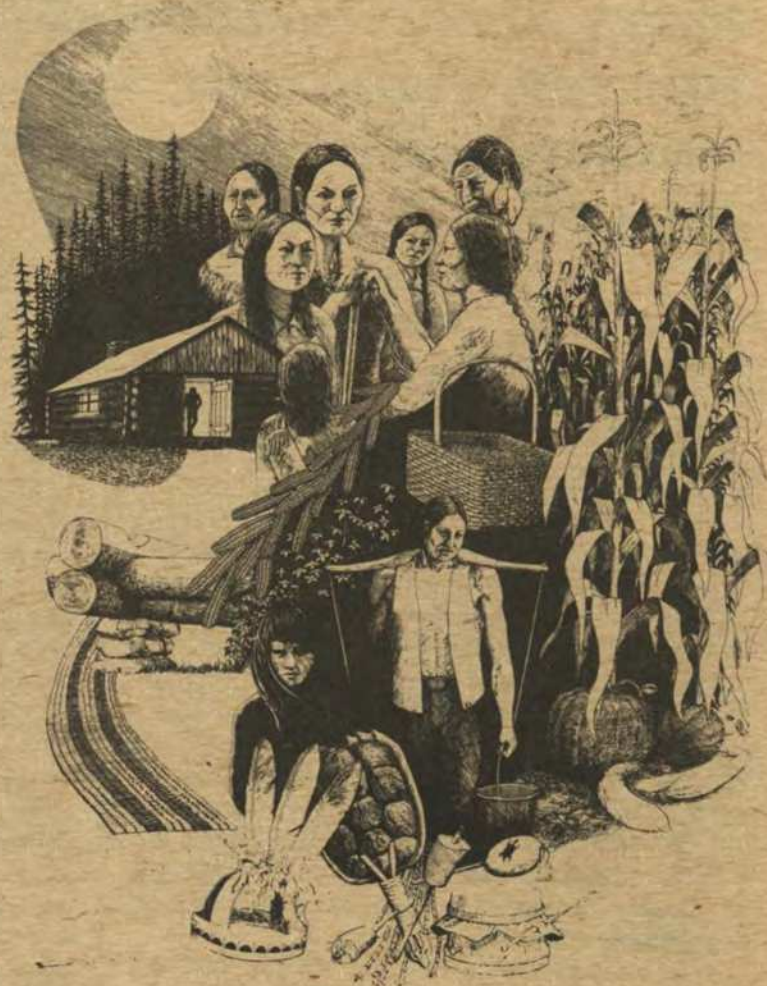
This kind of reorganization is not an easy task. Most adults have been socialized to see the ancient ways of our peoples as folklore. They have great difficulty relating to the principles of those ways as paths to a better and more productive society and this is why they are unable to readily apply the principles of traditionalism. A reeducation process needs to take place while a practice is developed, and those who undertake the task should understand that there is resistance every step of the way even within the communities which express traditional values and, sometimes, practice traditional ways.

In most places, practically all of the traditional economy is either destroyed or is in the process of being destroyed. Where it exists, the traditional economy is not viable enough to support the numbers of people who would depend on it, and where it does not exist, the wage economy has so completely replaced it that only its memory dimly remains.

The traditional communities need to find ways to revitalize. The most important aspect of that needed revitalization is economic revitalization, and the needed economic revitalization is the community's economy, not the wealth of the individual.

In the West economies are based on the ability of individuals and associations of individuals to accumulate wealth. With this accumulated wealth it is expected that they will hold land and buildings, and own tools and that they will organize some forms of production. Other people will be laborers within that system and there will emerge "bosses." That hasn't happened to a great degree in the Native communities of North America as yet, but the process is under way. It is a process which pits people against one another in a competitive way. It creates the promotion of landlords who rent living space to their neighbors, or merchants who sell

An Organizing Tool for Community Survival



food to their neighbors, of other merchants who sell other necessities of life to their neighbors, and of a class or group of people who have interests in keeping others dependent for jobs, materials, housing, etc.

Hardly anyone will argue against the idea that it is in the interests of a community that all its members should have adequate housing, adequate food to eat, adequate opportunities for training so that they can support themselves. The Western mode of production, however, has some giant drawbacks in that the purpose of economic activity is not for production and the well-beings of the society but rather for the profits of those who own the means of production, be those means factories or land. It is not difficult to see that the interests of the merchants are contradictory to the interests of the community.

On the other end of the political economic spectrum, we have socialism. In practice, socialism has generally meant collective ownership by the state. The rhetoric of socialism suggests that the purpose of this form of organization is to promote the social condition under which everyone has equal access to the products of the society. In actual practice, however, since the state owns the means of production, and since the state is operated by political parties, those parties become a kind of ruling class with specific interests relative to the allocations of power within the society. The workers are not the owners of the means of production except in very abstract ways, and everybody understands that the potential for the development of privilege is not only abstract but real. The most practical alternative to that reality involves rule by a charismatic leader or a "strong man," a form of dictatorship which has sometimes been extremely oppressive and which is not a practical possibility in most of the Native world.

There are many principles of traditionalist organization, but those principles are not widely

understood. The first principle is that nobody owns anything -- not the state, not the individual. Given the history of the past few centuries, that is an extremely hard principle to grasp, but it is an essential one. Before we go much further, it would be good if we could try to remind ourselves every little while that under this system nobody owns anything.

The objective of traditionalism is to organize distinct societies in ways of life which have a potential to survive. In the United States alone there are hundreds and hundreds of distinct communities, each with their own language, their own specific history, and their own identity as to where they live and who they are. Those societies face extinction not because their ways are out of step with the times but because they are under real economic and ideological pressures which are external in nature.

The pressures on the Native communities are many and varied but these pressures do have some common manifestations. In most places, the survival of distinct communities is threatened because young people are no longer speaking the language of their parents and are forced to leave home to take employment in distant cities. The reason they are forced to leave home is that there is not enough economic base at home to support them. In order to get jobs in the American society, they must learn the skills of that society, and the process by which they learn those skills is called "education."

Many Native people blame "education" for the destruction of their communities. It is true that American schools do teach the children English and they do teach values which are of more use to the factory system of labor than they are to the development of a traditional or community economy, but one must note that the schools also teach the adults some lessons which people often don't know that they are learning.

The American school systems are based on two realities. The first is that the curriculum -- what is

"The traditional communities need to find ways to revitalize their economies... but... the needed economic revitalization is the community's economy, not the wealth of the individual."



taught to the student -- is controlled by the state. In that sense it is possible to say that the state "owns" the education curriculum in a socialist fashion. The second reality is that the decisions on the local level are often made by elected school board officials who often represent the interests of the property owners of the community. The process of decision making by the school board reflects these property relationships and provides the structure by which the power of this class of people is imposed on the community. Under these systems the concept of the community's well-being is very specific in practice. The children are taught a curriculum which will provide skills to the larger society and will prepare them for entry into a university or a trade, where they will learn skills which are needed by the industries whose representatives sit on the curriculum planning boards of the state. The specific day-to-day learning experience is monitored by the local property owners.

It should be no surprise to anyone that the children are thus socialized to seek careers in the larger society, a process which takes them to employment situations hundreds, perhaps thousands, of miles from home. Given the representation of the local property owners it should be of no surprise to anyone that the schools socialize children to the status quo and are extremely resistant to any kind of change.

A community organization which would attempt to preserve the community must be conscious of that process. The school systems do not promote community development. They motivate the children towards jobs in the industrial complex, jobs which take them far away from home. They socialize the children into competitive lifeways which resist and frustrate efforts at cooperation which might form the foundation of community life.

Once the children have graduated from school, they are then faced with entry into the world of wage labor. In America wage labor essentially means that people are paid to follow orders and they are paid with the expectation that their labor will produce a profit for the owners of the company. It is a form of social organization under which respect for human beings is extremely hard to cultivate. The laborer is essentially a person who may be treated as a slave for the hours during which he works. It is true that in some jobs he is an extremely well-paid slave, but the wages of labor are that the worker is a second-class person or a non-person under this system.

People have a lot of trouble trying to see alternatives to these systems. For most people the word "cooperation" is just that -- a word.

Two things were said at the beginning of this essay to which we must now return. The first was that, under traditionalism (the alternative, in this proposition) nobody owns anything. The second is that, under traditionalism, the way in which things are done should be culturally specific.

A traditionalist practice is a community development program. Long before Columbus sailed, Native communities enjoyed viable economies. A lot of things have happened since, and many Native

communities don't have viable economies today. A community development program which is real will be designed to rebuild the potential for that to happen. Since there aren't enough buffaloes or land for buffaloes, we can't rebuild an economy based on hunting buffaloes, but in many cases the two greatest assets remain -- the people and the culture. To maintain these communities, it will be necessary that economic activity which could be viable be identified and that the people be organized around those activities. The objective, one must remember, is to provide the people with a viable and equitable way of life.

Let us say, for example, that we have identified the assets of a hypothetical community. This imaginary community has a small land base and a relatively small population base. The needs of this community if it is to continue to survive as a community, are for food, clothing and shelter and some revenue to keep the people comfortable. The community land base consists of five hundred acres of arable land and there is an adult population of 1200 people. Of the 1200, about 20 people are interested in participating in a community development program. The tribal government is in the hands of administrators who are not interested in the program, and all of the land is under a form of private control.

It has been determined in this hypothetical case that there is a need among these 20 adults for four houses and that there is some willingness among these people to develop a survival school.

The first thing we need to do is to start small and to take practical steps which we can take at the time. On most Native lands there are idle people who are hungry sitting on idle agricultural lands. The community developer would see this and begin trying to find a way to help this community

produce food for itself, but the question we are dealing with here is -- how is this community going to organize to take this step?

The first thing we could look at is the fact that the socialization process has accustomed many of us to accept the idea of "bosses" but not to accept the idea of "leaders." Every project has to have some kind of leaders, and those leaders must have authority. Assuming that we are talking here about an agricultural project, we could look at traditional ways of organizing agricultural production for some ideas on how to proceed. Because this is an Iroquois publication, and because the Iroquois once possessed a genius at this sort of thing, let us look to them for our culturally specific example. (You will remember that it was stated that we would need to be culturally specific. This is not to suggest that people should follow the Iroquois example, but rather to suggest a way of finding an example.)

The Haudenosaunee (as the Iroquois are properly called) elected a woman chief to direct the work of the communal fields. She was given the title *entigowane* and she had the power to delegate authority to others. Once elected, she was to remain the "boss" for one year, which corresponds to the growing season. The next year, she could be reelected or she could be replaced, but the point is SHE WAS ELECTED BY THE WORKERS.

Under this system, nobody owned the land, but the workers did "own" the harvest in the sense that they reaped what they sowed. She was not paid for her job as administrator of the garden. Each person was delegated a work area and each person literally received the fruits of their own labor at the harvest. Worker participation was voluntary but it was communally organized. Once a person volunteered that person was expected to do their share, including taking the directions from the woman chief.

The whole organization of the society was much more complex than time or space permits in this essay, but the point can be made that several principles were enacted in those ancient times which we could learn from today. If there exists a need for homes, we could organize a kind of "mutual aid society" to build the houses. Assuming that we can take that step, the next question is, how can we "own" housing?

In ancient times, people did not "own" houses in the sense that we know that word today. If there was a need for a house, the community provided the land and much of the labor. The person who needed the house assembled the materials, again often with the help of the "mutual aid society." It was inconceivable in those times that someone would build a house in order to "rent" it to someone. That idea is one which destroys the "mutual aid" concept, thus destroying the community's practice of distribution of the fruits of labor and the cooperative principle upon which the community life was based. The modern form of each land holding principles is approximated in the movement of community land trust.

The problem of land ownership or property relations is that they are not only compulsory but they



are essentially unfair and they are not productive. In the work place, the idea is that the worker works for the "boss" because he has little alternative except to work for another "boss." That's a good system for the bosses, but it does little to provide for a basis for community life. Community life essentially means that there is cooperative effort, but it does not mean that there is no organization. In a Community of Haudenosaunee, work in the garden is undertaken for the benefit of large extended families and a community of extended families, and it provided sustenance for both.

If we were to organize a modern food growing effort, we would probably find that we are faced with several problems. If we try to raise food using commercial methods, we could very well find that it costs more for machinery and land and seeds and fertilizer than the food we harvest is worth in the market. The alternatives to this problem would require us to try different (alternatives?) modes of production and to organize our work under a different set of objectives, because it is unquestionably possible for a family or a group of families to raise their own food, or large portions of it, without heavy expenditures in land or fertilizer or machinery. In that way organizing a food raising effort, even if it is only supplementary at first, is one way of benefiting the community.

It is probably possible, using what are called "heritage" plant varieties, to produce a dietary which would keep people healthy while drastically



"The objective of traditionalism is to organize distinct societies in ways of life which have a potential to survive."

reducing their grocery bills. It would be an activity undertaken by a group of people which, when done as a community, could promote something called, (in Christian circles) "fellowship" while helping people help themselves meet a real need. At the same time, it offers excellent opportunities for people to learn about agriculture, to be with their children, and to speak the language of their ancestors. Among agricultural peoples such as the Iroquois it would add real meaning to the concept of the relationships between people and the vegetable kingdom, and would help to motivate people to a real participation in their culture. That is the basis of community life.

But this can be the basis of community life only if nobody "owns" the land, which is to say that nobody can act as though they have the right to deprive other people of access to land. That is what ownership implies -- the right to deprive people of access to something -- like land. At the same time, it is also true that those who plant a garden have the right to the fruits of that garden -- a right superior to the rights of the state or anyone else, including interlopers. Those who plant a garden "own" it in the sense that those who do not plant it have no "rights" to the fruits of that garden. "Communal" traditionalism means that in work organization, you work for yourself -- no one works for you, and you work for no one. Because of the cooperative nature of social relations in this system, the interests of the community become indistinguishable from the interests of the individual. Thus participation in the Mutual Aid Society is a way of socializing work so that labor in practice benefits the whole community.

At the same time, cooperative organization can-

not be accomplished in an individualist atmosphere, and some jobs simply cannot be done by an individual. That is why the ancient Haudenosaunee communities appointed a leader in the gardens and why that leader had authority to make decisions about what went where and who did what and when. The workers, however, were protected from outside interests and outside pressures. There was no landowner demanding that they produce cotton for export when the need was for corn to eat in the way that state curriculum boards demand that a community which makes its living producing corn must send its sons/and daughters to a school which seeks to produce people who can be trained for computer programming.

The first line of criticism of this kind of thinking is that the Native people would be denying their children and their people access to a "better way of life." It is as though small communities are not allowed to have a strong sense of self interest or a desire to act on a need for survival. The traditionalist seeks to help his community to survive by strengthening the community's economic and social base. It is the traditionalists' objective that the families become strong, that the children grow up in a cooperative way valuing their culture and their way of life, and that the people take every possible step in empowering themselves as a group.

The example of the gardening project is used because of its historic precedence, not because it is proposed that every community needs to base its activities on gardens. There are many economic activities which Native people could develop, especially in the areas of cottage industries. The point is that the culture offers many organization

points which are potentially more workable than the wage labor system. It would be ideal if communities began to strive for independence from the American or Canadian market economies because therein lies the true potential for cultural survival. Self-sufficiency in everything -- from clothing, to housing to food production -- would mean that people would be dependent on each other and not on somebody who seeks to make a profit from their labors. And it would mean that a Native community would continue to exist as a distinct community for generations to come.

The way to this possibility would require that we look to the cultures to find the human values of relationships for guidance in our work. We would organize "businesses" which were in fact worker cooperatives. We would do away with the European concept of "ownership" and develop (or redevelop) our own concepts about how to hold property. Policy decisions would be shared among the workers, and the benefits of labor would accrue to the workers. The community as a whole would begin to take some responsibility for the well-being of its neighbors in the sense that if someone needs a house, his neighbors will help to build him a house and in return he will help a neighbor build a house.

What people are having the most trouble seeing is that they occasionally copy the exact forms they are trying to escape when they set up organizations. There is a tendency to want to talk about "collective ownership" as though there was some kind of invisible state (in some cases a visible state) in a way which is entirely contradictory to tradition. There is a tendency to seek employee/employer relationships and a sense that workers should have nothing to say about the conditions or process of their work.

If we are going to set up schools -- and there is still a debate about the whole idea of schools -- then those schools should not work like the bourgeois schools. They should not teach a curriculum designed by those in power to help the industrial machinery of America but should be teaching a curriculum designed to develop the political and social economies of the specific community they serve. They should not reflect racist ideologies, or "reverse" racist ideologies, and they should not reflect the needs of the reservation landowners as landowners. They must reflect always the needs of the community, and they must be responsive to the needs of the people who have volunteered their time and energy to the effort -- the teachers, administrators and students of the school.

These are examples that almost everyone can identify with, but they are not intended to be specific examples. The same principles can apply to a community garden market or to a community health service or to anything else, even to a cooperative cottage industry.

The traditional way, when viewed as a methodology, could be the Native peoples' greatest asset. In fact, it could turn out to be the only way that communities of Native people can organize for their own survival. The alternatives are to try to send your children to good schools in Peoria and to college in Los Angeles and to say goodbye to the ideas of family and community, because we can't have those things if our children all move away. The other potential is to go as we do now until the federal grants run out and then to develop a kind of cargo cult awaiting another dollar messiah (someone who is like Uncle Sam used to be.) The alternatives you may agree are not very attractive.

John C. Mohawk

THE LANGUAGE OF SURVIVAL

by Rokwaho

From days in antiquity to present times, native peoples of all nationalities have universally maintained that all the elements within Creation are related. This concept is a basic cosmic truth and was by no means mere poetic rhetoric. They possessed a profound sense of relativity that was apparent in all they did and thought. The People of the Longhouse, The Hotinonshonni, practice a culture of relativity. Philosophy, religion, and government are conceptually inseparable in their understanding of the relativity in the individual, social, and cosmic Cause and Effect. The Hotinonshonni employ a single word to describe both Law and Righteousness, KAIANEREKOWA, meaning both The Great Law, and, The Great Good.

The Hotinonshonni "Religion," for want of a more precise term, is one of relativity. The Longhouse religion, for the most part, has little to do with blind faith or icons, excepting those natural icons made by The Master of Life, The Creator. The People perceive the obvious, recognize without a doubt that it is sacred, and are thankful for its being. Contrary to some prevailing anthropological notions, native peoples were not, and are not worshippers in the iconic definition immediately assumed of so-called "primitive" cultures who practice the rites and ceremonies of thanksgiving. If they give the impression of appearing to be sun worshippers, it is because they take nothing for granted. They are genuinely glad to see and feel the sun rise each dawn. As the Sun is the center of local mystery, as are the Earth, the Moon, and stars, it is perfectly natural to focus their attentions and thankfulness there, and through there to the Creator of all being. The Hotinonshonni have a sublime sense of the Creator's intent.

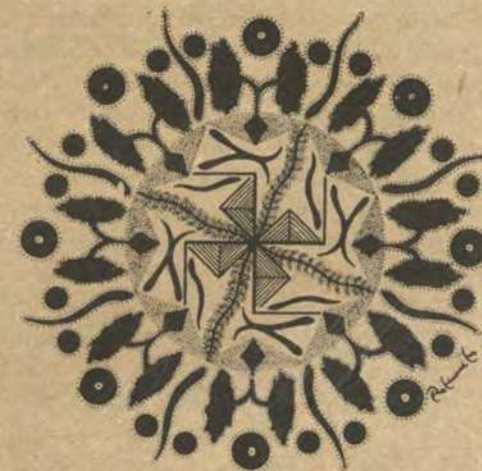
Perhaps, the single most important sense they possess is their perceptual ability to see the obvious. The languages evolved by the Hotinonshonni will attest to this notion. The Mohawk language (to use one example) is a language of caricature. The Mohawk people have long been notorious for coining nicknames that are so fitting that they endure the entire lifetime of the nicknamed, and often, long beyond. The prime reason why these nicknames cling so (often to the biligerent duress of the victim), is because these nicknames fit the person with the approximate snugness of three strait jackets. These (often uncomplimentary) nicknames are often derived of a person's pet saying, habit, or their caricature resemblance to someone, something, or some animal. I am impulsively tempted to list a dozen or so living specimens that come immediately to mind. Fortunately (for me), my instincts for the preservation of the self overpower my radical audacity to name any nicknames. I jest thee not, some of these nicknames will obtain you a broken nose or any of the other varying deleterious degrees of anatomical distensions that normally ensue when one is vernacularly indiscrete around a chance perfectly nicked and sensitive Mohawk, or at the very least, edited and censored from a respectable publication such as this.

The names they gave to describe the various animals may provide clearer examples of caricature perception, being also a safer avenue of semantic pursuit. The name for the rabbit is a prime example of caricature perception. The Mohawk description for this long eared animal is TAHONTANEKEN (Da hoom da ne guh), meaning "ears close together."

The rabbit was named thus because his most peculiar feature is having ears close together, and not as one might presume, because of their length. The Mohawk mind perceived the unusual length of the rabbit's ears, but their caricature perception compelled them to name the rabbit for its singular talent of rubbing its ears together. The Mohawk name for the frog is equally descriptive. OT-SKWAHE (Oats gwa hey) was their appraisal of this swamp dweller. His name means "always seated," because frogs do appear to be seated most of the time. Another good semantic example is the Mohawk name for the snake. ONIARE (Oh nya leh) means "all neck, or, long neck," for reasons which we may regard as being self evident. Thus it is that the Mohawk language is not actually composed of convenient arbitrary nouns upon which to hang concepts. The language is an intuitive string of verbs and adjectives which transmit generalized images much more specifically than English. After all, the Mohawk language emerged and evolved semantically from the dawn of people and is bound to be much more sophisticated, semantically, than contemporary noun based languages such as English. A Mohawk name will give you at least an inkling of shape, terrain, size, colour, habit, and often, humour...



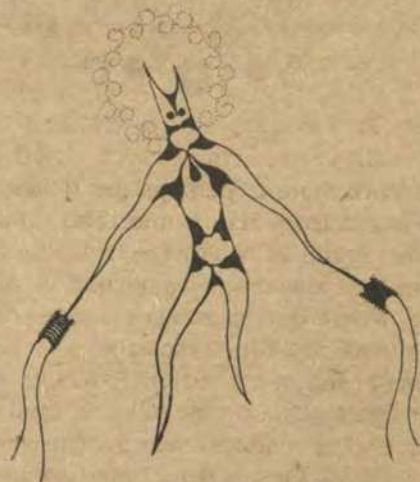
The more recent the name is, the more apparent shall be its semantic description. The Mohawk name for New York City is KANONNO (ga noon no), meaning "a sea of pipes," as for tobacco, not chimneys. The numerous smoking pipes of industry gave New York City its Mohawk description. In some instances the Mohawk names for places were adapted, adopted, and mispronounced into the English vocabulary. TERONTO (de loom doe) means "a sea of logs (or trees)" - the name of present day Toronto. Obviously, Toronto was named at a time when that site was considerably richer with tree life. The country of Canada has a Mohawk name, although its spelling is slightly different -KANATA (ga na da), which means "village or town." There is even an Ontario town named and spelled Kanata. The province name Ontario is also derived from a Mohawk name. Ontario is shortened from SKANIATARIIO (sga nya da lee yoe), which semantically describes "a nice river or lake." While we're in Canada, Niagara has an interesting Mohawk name. Pronounced NIAKARA (nya ga la), it means "spills into," as in Niagara Falls.



New York State is perhaps the richest of all in Mohawk and Iroquoian names. The capital of the Iroquois League of Nations is Onondaga, situated just south of the city of Syracuse. Although the name is from the Onondaga language, it is close enough to Mohawk for its semantics to be easily extricated. Pronounced ONONTAKE (o noom da geh), it means "among the hills, or, on the hill." If you have ever ventured near Syracuse and Onondaga you would know that Onondaga got its name from the beautiful rolling hills in that region of old Iroquois territory. Saratoga has a nice, even romantic, sounding name. I hope no one reading this is from Saratoga because its Mohawk meaning is everything but romantic, and may shatter some perfectly good misconceptions as to the manner in which Saratoga received its name. Saratoga's Mohawk pronunciation sounds quite different -SARATOKA (za la doe gah), and it quite literally means "foot sore, or, sore heel." If one is familiar with the Indian sense of humour, it could be imagined that some tired and foot sore Mohawk named it SARATOKA, and it stuck. Perhaps Saratoga was an isolate place beyond what may have been deemed a respectable journey on foot. Maybe there was an epidemic of athletes foot there once upon a time. There is a place in the state called Wanagah, which, with a Mohawk pronunciation comes out WANAKA (wa na ga), and it means "to whistle." It could be surmised that the wind whistling among the trees or across some peculiar crevice earned Wanagah its name. Canajoharie was named for its "standing post." What kind of post remains open to speculation, but its Mohawk spelling and pronunciation -KANENTSIOHARE (ga nuh joe ha leh), quite clearly describes a standing post. In keeping with caricature perception it would have to have been a standing post somewhat out of the ordinary. Schenectady is one of those Mohawk names that was improperly transcribed into English and then mispronounced a half dozen different times and eventually became Schenectady. It started out as SKANEHTATI (sga neh da dee), meaning "beyond, or to one side of the pines."

The list goes on and on with Mohawk state names, but the point I am endeavoring to reiterate is that the Mohawk language is one of the most sophisticated semantic evolutions on the planet, and it reveals a profound depth of perception that composes native reality. Language reveals the perceptual and conceptual quality of its possessor.

The ability to see the obvious is a perceptual talent that goes far deeper than an ability to communicate "obviously." Language is but a surficial mirror of awareness depth. This depth of perception and awareness is the very reason why native speaking persons are able to see relativities in Creation where others may not. All they needed do was to look in any one of the six directions - east, south, west, north, up, down, and they could perceive with little doubt that all elements, animate and inanimate, of Creation were related. They saw that the trees and all other plant life had stems and limbs that were cylindrical just as their own limbs and bodies were. They observed that the bodies of all other animal life also had circular forms..round heads..round eyes..arms..legs...



They examined the hailstones that fell from the dome of the sky and perceived that they had spherical shapes. As they watched over their children laughing and splashing about in the water they observed that water cast into the air struggled to become round before falling back into the river. They climbed the ancient weather worn (rounded) mountains and from their summits beheld that the lakes were circumflex in contour. Overhead were the ever hovering globes that were the sun and moon. When they turned their attention down among the stones that were strewn about the earth, they marked that some of them were worn round by wind and water, some nearly round, and still others which were pantamorphic, yet were in various stages of becoming round. They realized that the very stones themselves struggle to be round and would be, given time. They lifted these stones and saw insects scrambling for cover and glimpsed that they too had round forms. They saw circles everywhere. They discovered not one exception to this phenomena of relativity.

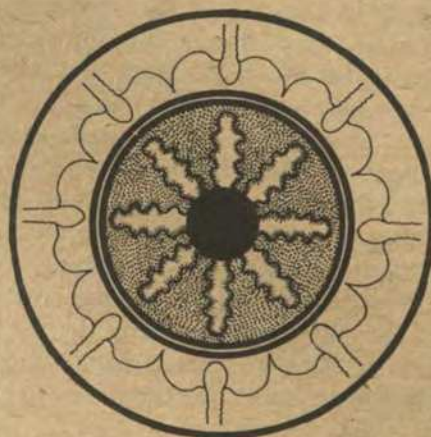
Thus, it is no great mystery why we lovingly refer to the Earth as Mother Earth - being the source and host of all life. Grandmother Moon - the governess of female life fertility. To the Sun as our Eldest Brother - the life sustaining overlord of local Creation. And, to all life forms be they flesh or spirit as "all my relations," because we are all so clearly and 'obviously' related.

I have heard it said that the Creator made humans in the image of himself/herself, a concept with which I agree whole heartedly. It may well be that my memory serves me incorrectly, but I do not remember mentioned in the same context, the animals, birds, trees, insects, stones, lakes, hailstones, planets, or even the more obvious sun and moon that all are also in the image of the Creator. When one views the Creation from a relative standpoint, one cannot (or should not) fail to realize the obvious and glaring truth - that the circle or sphere is the shape of that which exists.

That which exists in any tangible form is made real by virtue of its balance with itself (relative and proportional) against the influence of an eternal force. In the centerless eternity of space, the circle (the center) is the perfect container of the substance of being. Matter and the energy that binds it is a paradox to eternity. Round is the weave of paradox..The Great Mystery...

From such a cosmological place emerged the Longhouse Culture of the Hotinonshonni, a culture of relativity propelled by an oral tradition as ancient as the people themselves. The many families and clans of the Longhouse provided a healthy environment within which such an oral tradition could be practiced effectively. Oral tradition requires a totally immersed environment such as was provided by life within the larger family unit of the clan.

The education of Mohawk children, up until the comparatively recent past, was the responsibility of the entire extended family to which the children belonged. A close family unit constituted the grandparents, parents, brothers and sisters, aunts, uncles and cousins. The child considered his or her entire clan as family. Even today, the term for one's aunt, ISTA (ees da), is still "mother." The parental responsibilities were shared by the aunts and uncles. The children learned temperance and wisdom from their resident grandparents, and, brother and sister companionship was shared among the many cousins living in the same Longhouse. It was the unquestioned morality of the Longhouse people that persons of the same clan were forbidden to marry. The clan is an extended family, and to marry a person of the same clan was to marry a brother or a sister. The morality of the clan precluded genetic interbreeding, thus ensuring the genetic health of the subsequent generations of the clan. The Longhouse concept and practice of the extended family included a much broader definition than the so-called "nuclear family" of the present day.



Within this extended family closeness the children learned their language and their education came as naturally as breathing. Oral tradition thrived in the intimacy of the Longhouse. Culture, history, and general knowledge were shared freely and was known as a matter of daily life. A person raised within the extended family naturally possesses social skills which fostered the development of a sense of continuity and purpose of being, and, a strong sense of identity with the past, present, and future. An identity crisis was unheard of, and suicides were rare instances of aberrant behavior, merely the factor of uncertainty which underlies Creation. Thus it was that the children's family and people were their community, and their community, their school.

Today, our communities look much like any rural American or Canadian community. We live in modern houses, drive automobiles, own color television sets, shop at supermarkets, and we are employed as ironworkers, construction workers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, etc. Yet, in spite of all the apparent blessings and conveniences of modern sciences, Native Peoples everywhere have a disproportionately high rate of alcoholism, suicide, and unemployment when compared to American and Canadian statistics. These are conditions which breed abnormal behavior, often bordering on criminal behavior born of frustration, despair, and purposelessness of living with a fragmented identity of the self and the place of that self within the greater scheme of life and society. There is definitely something wrong, something missing from the lives of contemporary Native People that brings them grief and apathy amidst (so-called) opportunity and prosperity.

One needs not pages and pages of sociological statistics to arrive at the conclusion that at the roots of native cultural and social deterioration is the absence of social skills and knowledge essential to the collective functions of the extended family. The clan served a very fundamental purpose. It was the foundation and social fabric of Longhouse culture. Today, our children grow up within the influence of North American technological cultures as well as the remnants of their own ancient culture. The very nature of English language culture is diametrically opposed to native concepts and mores. Our children are confronted with contradictory sets of values upon entry into the school systems. English language education dominates and prevails over much of their lives. Their own culture and the importance of their identification to it was not realized nor reckoned into their overall education until little more than a decade ago. The movement to establish native language programs in the various schools is a direct manifestation of the imperative need to buttress the cultural foundation of our children.

To know ones' own language, history, and culture is to reconcile the past, present, and future, and as importantly, provides a sense of direction into the future. If there exists no past, a person's values and morals become based in the immediacy of the present moment. The future cannot exist. That person's continuity of existence is broken. To live entirely in the present, untempered by a rich cultural background, nor the promise of a well integrated sense of the future breeds impatient, pleasure seeking, and lawless adventures. Impatience begets irritability, irritability begets alcoholism and violence, alcoholism begets guilt and remorse, guilt begets self hatred, self hatred begets destructive and suicidal behavior, and self destructiveness begets alcoholism, and back around and around in a mad circle. Alcoholism begets alcoholism.

However well intended, many of these language/culture programs in the government schools are falling short of their objectives. Native languages are primarily intuitive by nature and do not lend themselves to conventional linguistic approaches for objectively structured curriculums. The present twenty minute to one half hour daily instruction periods of native languages in the government schools amounts to little more than a pacification offering. Parents are led to believe that all is well now that their language is being taught in the schools. A cursory study of the effectiveness of these government-sponsored language programs

will reveal the startling fact that all is indeed not well. The government concession to native languages in the schools is the equivalent of applying a finger band-aid to a gaping and potentially fatal cultural wound.

We cannot continue to expect government sponsored schools to salvage our language and culture for us, because it has been their purpose all along to completely absorb and assimilate Native People into the mainstream of their society. In fact, the government schools until quite recently were actively engaged in suppressing native languages. To all indications they have not changed their stance regarding the mainstreaming of Native People. Only their tactics have changed, and then only after the worst of the damage was already done. It was but a minor concession to allow native language instruction into their classrooms because the language was, for the most part, already well on the way to extinction. That which at first appeared to be a liberalization of educational policy toward native priorities was more of a delaying tactic that seems to have been engineered to quell the uproar from the increasingly radical and sometimes militant native communities. Let them teach Mohawk, but impotently...

Fortunately, native people are awakening to fact that if their languages and cultures are to survive, it will have to be entirely due to their efforts. Here at Akwesasne, educational self-determination is being actively practiced at the Freedom School. The Freedom School is barely into its third year of operation and already it is demonstrating superior academic standards in comparison to the government schools. This is hardly surprising in light of the Freedom School policy of de-regulation. Government schools are over-regulated and over-populated, thus restricting and precluding the emergence of any new revolutionary educational methods that might upset the bureaucratic status quo. The Freedom School on the other hand, encourages new methods, and its teachers have much freer rein to explore new concepts in education. Naturally this tends to attract the more radical-thinking teachers who would otherwise languish under government controls. Certainly mistakes are made. Some ideas work better than others but the only way to find out if something works is to try it. The Freedom School is as much a teachers college as it is a school for the children of the revolution.

Now the honeymoon is over. The Freedom School has demonstrated that it can actually surpass the government schools in the same academic areas, but now it must recalibrate its educational priorities and place the Mohawk language at the top of the list. It is truly exciting to behold this process taking place, because if its short academic track record is any indication of its potential, one can only expect a highly accelerated re-proliferation of the Mohawk language in a very short period of time. New and old teaching methods must be given equal consideration because some old ideas may be as valid and effective today as they were in their time. Indeed some old notions of native language education may only now be coming into their time of fruition. I believe this is particularly true of the concept of total immersion. Although hardly new, the concept of total immersion in a language and culture is a tried and true method of imparting a comprehensive knowledge of it to the student. The human ability to adapt to a new environment in a comparatively short duration of time reaches maximum capacity when offered no other alternative. It must be understood that, given a choice, most human beings will pick the easier alternative.

APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY:

Not a New Concept in Indian Country

- Bob Antone



If we are to practice total immersion in the Mohawk language at the Freedom School, the first step is, of course, the complete removal of all English language influences. The more determined parents will outlaw the English language entirely in both their homes and school. This means selling or detonating their television sets, radios, and English language texts, and replacing them with Mohawk language and culture oriented influences. Television and radio may be re-introduced when Mohawk language programs become available. We shall be doing well if we can eliminate the one most damaging and insidious element from the lives of our children, television. It is a dangerous hypnotic device which literally can come to govern human behavior if allowed to saturate a young developing mind.

Obviously, the ideal totally immersed environment is found within the extended family of the Longhouse. However, in this day and age of the independent "nuclear family" household, most adults lack the social skills to function within an extended family, but the children do not. Extended family social skills can be learned with more ease by the children than by adults, but this is not to imply that adults are incapable of it. The extended family is a co-operative life style that makes life easier for everyone concerned if the problems of personality can be overcome. Perhaps the notion of living in a Longhouse with relatives will be repulsive to some (if not all), but in the end this is the only logical alternative if we are truly serious about this business of preserving our Mohawk language and culture. It is important to note that the children attending the Freedom School already consider their school a sort of part-time Longhouse. The feeling of the extended family is becoming prevalent among the young. For once, we adults should take a lesson from our children because they are clearly pointing the way to their own survival. We shall need to make some personal sacrifices for the collective benefit of our children and our children's children.



Appropriate technology is a new term for Native people, but certainly the concept is not. In the Oneida communities in Wisconsin and Ontario during the past few years there has been much discussion about it. We began to realize that if we could live in accordance with our culture, customs and traditional laws, we would be enjoying a life that is in balance with the natural order, an order that does not harm the environment or create human conflict, but builds upon the opportunity for our people to enjoy a life that enhances our land for the future generations.

There are improved ways of growing food, technologies around the use of the sun, etc., that are available now. They could improve the lives of Native people and thus help in our efforts towards independence. Economic independence is important in the overall quest for total sovereignty of Indian nations. When you take a look around Native communities and see the dependency state the American and Canadian governments have created with their welfare programs, you realize how much influence they have over the lives of Native people. Also their economic programs force Native people to become a part of the Canadian or American economic systems. When you read the papers or listen to the news, you realize that it, too, is collapsing. Where does that leave Native people?

Solar energy for heating your homes or generating electricity assists people in becoming more dependent on the natural world. In the culture of the Haudenosaunee, the sun is considered the eldest brother of the natural world. It becomes a natural process for us to depend on the sun to provide us with an energy that is naturally produced. Maintaining cultural integrity while viewing available technologies is a real concern, but is possible if one has a clear understanding of one's culture. I remember what one of our elders had said, "Take only those things from the white man that will not destroy our way of life."

Tribal Sovereignty Program informed us of the Farallones Institute in Occidental, Northern California, which has a number of people experimenting with a various modes of appropriate technology. We decided that if we are going to get a handle on this kind of development, we need to get out there and experience it. With all of this in mind, we had five volunteers from our communities make the long trip to California to participate in a Farallones workshop. Three additional folks from Onondaga also attended.

The participants, ranging in ages from fifteen on up, attended the solar space heating workshop in which they learned the theory of solar principles, solar siting, basic conservation and weatherization techniques, basic tool use, and use of construction plans. As part of their hands-on experience, they built an 18'X12' attached solar greenhouse onto the home of Tribal Sovereignty Program staff members, Dan and Victoria Bomberry. The participants were able to utilize their newly-learned skills while building this beautiful, low cost, heat and food producing greenhouse.

The students also attended the food systems workshop which covered: raised bed systems of gardening, soils, composting, fertilization, insect management, developing water systems, general gardening techniques, fruit trees, food preservation and processing.

Enthusiastic response to the workshop and the skills they learned there was the norm, with the participants looking forward to utilizing these skills back in their home communities. By translating these skills into culturally appropriate means of development for our communities these folks will be taking another step towards the sovereignty of our people.

from Native Self-Sufficiency

SHORT NOTES

ISRAEL AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Despite Israeli government denials of involvement, opposition parties have strongly questioned the Begin administration's policy in Central America. Former Foreign Minister Abba Eban urged that Israel stop selling arms to Guatemala and El Salvador. Labour party leader Shimon Peres recently welcomed a FDR-FMLN spokesman to the Knesset and one of the other opposition parties, Mapam, is trying to introduce legislation banning military aid to the two countries.¹

Last year the Israel government assisted the Reagan administration in bypassing Congressional scrutiny by channelling US\$21 million of its 1981 aid allocation to El Salvador.² Moreover, in November, 1981, the Israeli newspaper, *H'artetz's* claim that Israel military advisors were in El Salvador was not denied by the Defence Ministry.

Trade with Guatemala has been particularly strong. In 1976, a deal for Arava STOL transport planes with Israeli trainers and technicians was made. In November 1977, US \$5 Million in Galil submachine guns, bazookas and other field weapons were purchased. To compensate for the Carter Administration's ban on military aid, Guatemala and Israel negotiated a military commercial agreement for replacement parts, technical services, 3 Dabier coastguard cutters and KFIR planes.³ The next significant agreement followed Interior Minister Alvarez's 1980 visit to Israel in search of counter-insurgency expertise. Israeli instructors in guerrilla psychology, political terror and military communications were sent posing as agricultural experts in cooperatives and land redistribution.⁴

Opposition forces have noted an increased sophistication of counter-insurgency methods since late 1980. Guatemalan combat troops are now equipped with Galil rifles, Israeli cartridge belts, helmets and a wealth of training and are now considered markedly modernized. At the opening of an Israeli-run military communications school before his demise, General Benedicto Lucas attributed the "gigantic job" of the Guatemalan Army's modernization to advisors and technology transfer from Israel.⁵ On T.V. in March this year, General Rios Montt credited the Israeli training of many soldiers for the coup's success.⁶

In other parts of the region Israeli patterns of involvement are similar. Relations with the Sandinistas are understandably hostile. The Begin government which supported Somoza up until the last two weeks, links the Sandinistas to membership in "bloodthirsty international terrorism." This summer Prime Minister Begin met with Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge in Washington and is now offering assistance to Costa Rica's security forces. And in mid-July, Honduran Army Chief of Staff, General Alvarez visited Israel, purportedly arranging arms transfers and technical training.⁷

Israeli opposition politicians argue that hostility toward Israel and Sandinista support of the P.L.O. are attributable to Israel's unthinking support for dictatorships. Begin's government appears committed to its present course. The *Manchester Guardian* reports that Israel's Economic Coordination Minister, Ya'acov Maridor, told "a closed meeting of business people that Israel coveted the job of top Washington proxy in Central America...where political considerations were preventing the U.S. from providing all the military assistance that was needed."⁸ The economic returns are clear. Trade with Latin America, its top military market, increased by 300 percent between 1978-1980 and by another 22 percent in 1981.

U.N. debating who discovered America

A proposed salute to Christopher Columbus for his role as the father of five centuries of colonization of the Americas has sparked a heated argument in the United Nations. The proposed resolution called for a "dignified commemoration" scheduled for October 12, 1992 to mark the 500th anniversary of the Italian explorer's discovery. Thirty-six countries including such apparent adversaries as the United States and Cuba and Nicaragua joined the resolution. The fly in the ointment came when Ireland's Noel Dorr asked: "Is it not something of an exaggeration to speak so confidently of Columbus landing on San Salvador in the Bahamas in 1492 as the discovery of America?... For one thing there was indigenous inhabitants."

He went on to urge an Irish claim to discovery which he said may have occurred in the 6th Century. Iceland chimed in with a claim on behalf of Leif Erikson who allegedly "discovered" Vinland about 1000 A.D. Iceland's ambassador Hodur Helgason drew laughter when he said:

"Should the resolution — the first one in the history of the U.N. which commemorates colonization — be passed, and I expect it will, the assembly may expect in the year 2000 a parallel proposal from Iceland commemorating the 1000th anniversary of the discovery of America."

Ambassador Jaime de Pinies of Spain didn't laugh. "Spain did not come to establish any colonies," he said. "It came here to merge its race with the indigenous people in this continent."

Sure, sure.



GRANNIES KEEP FOSTER CHILDREN ON RESERVE

NORWAY HOUSE, MB—Three Norway House grandmothers are making sure no children from Manitoba's largest Indian reserve end up in foster or adoptive homes outside their community.

The three, Myrtle Muskego, 48, Betsy Apetagon, 42, and Jean Folster, 60, took over their task on Feb. 16 when a child care and parental counselling center was opened on the reserve.

Muskego, who worked as a volunteer child care worker without pay for seven years, said the Band council wanted the center because "we were fed up from having our children taken away from our reserve. In some cases the parents didn't even know where their children went. We felt it was time we took responsibility for our own children."

Folster works as parent counsellor, while the other two are child care workers. They don't get paid much, but Folster says that doesn't matter, "when you're working for your own people. All you need is a little to keep going," she said.

"We tell the parents to smarten up and look after their kids," Folster said. "Kids don't ask to be born and they should darn well be taken good care of by the people who decided to bring them into the world."

Band councillor Ken Albert praised the women. "These ladies may not have university degrees, but they have passed through the toughest school of all—raising a big family of kids. Now they are taking post-graduate studies raising grandchildren."

Albert said the community's 80 percent unemployment rate and housing shortage causes much of the frustration that leads to child neglect.

Norway House is about 250 miles north of Winnipeg.



DEATH CLAIMS NOTED MILITANT INDIAN LEADER

By Robert S. Johnson

A MAN OF COURAGE, AL BRIDGES:

It would be hard to count the numbers of times I took Al (Alvin) Bridges' picture during the tumultuous 1960's fish-ins and militant demonstrations.

The news of his death September 13 seemed to bring to an end an era in which the real gladiators of the Indian fishing movement have disappeared.

The honor roll of those names is headed by his, Al Bridges, and includes Don and Janet McCloud, Al's wife Maiselle, Bob and Suzy Satiacum, Nugent Kautx, the Moses family from Muckleshoot, and a host of others who have been assured of a place in history for what they did for their less courageous contemporaries.

I first met Al Bridges at Frank's Landing on the Nisqually, where Billy Frank, Jr., another outstanding militant, introduced us just before a riot that involved the State Game Department and about 40-club-wielding game wardens who were our homegrown Nazis of those days. He was part of a band that was going to "put it on the line" that day with the State of Washington.

And they did, many of them going to jail, only to be exonerated three years later on the strength of photos I took that day, on the testimony of witnesses like myself who saw Al Bridges and other militants take it on the chin, and on the perjury of state officers. It would be years later that the Boldt decision truly exonerated all of them, and that they could exercise their rights without being clubbed and jailed and bankrupted in the lower court system of this state.

The U.S. Supreme Court, in a ruling upholding Boldt, later confirmed the "recalcitrance" of the State of Washington, but that was a mild word to those of us who were there in those days.

A new generation has come, and most of them have not the foggiest idea of the intensity and tragedy of the struggles of those days. Only Al Bridges and his family, and others who "put it on the line" can ever know.

Though born on Vashon Island, Al Bridges lived for many years at Nisqually. He was arrested many times before Boldt made it safe for Indians to fish.

A man of conscience, he was founder and board member of the Survival of American Indians Association, and was involved in the Indian demonstrations at Alcatraz Island and at the Puyallup Encampment in 1970.

He was involved in the Trail of Broken Treaties demonstrations in which Indian militants occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in the nation's capital, and he was at Wounded Knee, S.D., in 1973.

In 1968 he was credited with leading the first large-scale Indian demonstration against the U.S. Supreme Court after a May 1968 decision against the Puyallup. And when the National Poor Peoples Campaign of that year took place, he was there.

Among the most important of his and his family's contributions to Indian life in the northwest was establishment of the Wah-He-Lute School at Frank's Landing.

But, most of all, he is survived by the memory he left in the minds and hearts of an entire generation of northwest Indian militants who believed in and fought for the rights that others less dedicated enjoy today. He lived only sixty years, but the things he fought for will live for generations.

from THE INDIAN VOICE September, 1982

SHORT NOTES ---

Cree mother given "inhumane treatment"

(Reprinted from BEAR HILLS NATIVE VOICE)

Officials of the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) revealed the terribly inhumane treatment by the Alberta Justice system of a young Cree mother from the Driftpile Reserve in the Lesser Slave Lake region.

Charles Wood, President of the IAA, is asking the public to react to this infamous episode by putting pressure on the Attorney-General of Alberta to investigate what has become a very tragic story. The 19-year-old woman in question has a three-month-old infant. On Sept. 29th, the mother was brought to court in Slave Lake for alleged breach of probation. She was duly tried and sentenced to 90 days incarceration. Regardless of the fact that the young mother was breast-feeding the infant the judge saw fit to commit the devastating act of separating the mother from her tiny baby.

An IAA Board member, who investigated the case in co-operation with staff of the Native Counselling Services of Alberta, found out that the alleged breach of probation offense was committed at least a year ago.

Meanwhile the youthful mother was making good progress in setting her life straight. To assist herself financially, she had done babysitting. Her social worker reported that the Cree mother loves her child deeply, and cannot stand to be isolated from it. The relative, who is now caring for the unfortunate child, is reported to be in rather poor health, adding to the complexities of the dreadful display of wanton disregard to human rights and dignity.

The IAA concluded that many white people are averse to giving away little puppies before they are fully weaned, but that white society is fully capable of standing by and watching a depraved act in which a suckling infant is ripped away from the breast of its mother. What, it asks, does this say about the judicial system in Alberta?

The portfolio-holder for social services, on the board of the IAA feels that the judge could have recommended a "fine option" program in this instance, thereby preserving the sacred love between Indian mother and infant.

A High Prairie lawyer, Ernie Silito, is planning to appeal the case.

Germ Warfare Alleged

—Guatemala! - Berkeley

There have been recent, although unconfirmed, reports of bacteriological warfare in Guatemala. It is alleged that the army is using techniques similar to those used in Vietnam to exterminate the population in vast regions of the countryside.

According to reports, many incurable diseases are being observed for the first time in Guatemala. Large numbers of people wounded by the bullets and machetes of government forces develop symptoms that look like gangrene and die almost immediately. Experts suspect that these weapons have been coated with some type of chemicals.

This form of warfare appears to also affect people who have not been wounded. In the regions of El Quiche, Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, San Marcos and parts of Solola people have been breaking out in rashes which sometimes resemble burns and which often become gangrenous. Children are the hardest hit, dying right away. It is possible that the environment is being contaminated by the corpses of people killed by these chemicals because these bodies are often left where they fall.

People in Guatemala are looking for experts in the symptoms of bacteriological warfare who can help them determine and document what is happening to them.

CHIEF WANTS BAN ON TOXIC FISH

WHITEDOG, ONTARIO—Chief Isaac Mandamin of the Whitedog Reserve has called for a ban on all fishing in an area of the English-Wabigoon river system in northwestern Ontario, polluted by mercury dumped in the 1960s.

Commercial fishing was banned in 1970, but sport fishing is allowed. The Chief said tourists eat their catch and his band members eat fish to save money, although frozen fish is available from Saskatchewan. He said many of the 800 band members don't believe the fish pose a health hazard.

The Chief recently received a letter from health authorities strongly advising members not to eat fish caught in the area. This was the result of tests taken on 35 local residents in May and June for mercury levels where samples ranged from nine to 20 parts per million. The acceptable level established by the federal health agency is up to six parts per million. Over 30 parts per million is a high risk.

Area commercial fishing was banned after the Reed Ltd. pulp and paper mill, now owned by Great Lakes Forest Products Ltd., had dumped about 10 tons of mercury into the water system.



"It's not my factory that's polluting the lake. It's all those dead fish that're doing it."

BOLIVIA

The UN's 1980 "State of the World Environment" told of the small Indian village of Comarapa in sub-tropical Bolivia. Persuaded by "an avalanche of salesmen," farmers there began to use pesticides on their tomato crops in 1965, abandoning centuries-old methods of crop rotation and irrigation sequences.

After three years, a strange new moth appeared, reproducing itself at a terrifying rate. The salesmen recommended more pesticides: methyl parathion, and benzene hexachloride. New strains of resistant moths appeared and spread to other parts of the country.

Some of the Camarapa peasants reverted to the old methods; others gave up hope. The suicide rate increased dramatically in the village, the United Nations reported. Anisar Aguilar, one of the farmers, explained: "They think they are the killers of 'Pachamama' - Mother Earth. Now they are committing suicide...by drinking the pesticides that caused all their problems." (The Washington Post)



"My lands are where my dead lie buried"

KORCZAK ZIOLKOWSKI, THE MOUNTAIN SCULPTOR OF CRAZY HORSE

He dedicated 35 years of his life to sculpting a colossal mountain carving of Crazy Horse. He and his sons built the Indian Museum of North America and established a Crazy Horse Memorial Indian Scholarship Program.

He was a man of vision, "As he studied about Crazy Horse, as he read the wise words of so many of the chiefs and elders - they spoke to his heart, they transformed his spirit. They contained so much of the same common sense as he found in Aristotle's treatise ON NATURE."

Robert Fast Horse, Executive Director, Oglala Sioux Tribe, said "A lot of us have held a great esteem for this project, for this figure of Crazy Horse. It gives us pride to think of Crazy Horse. Although we seem to be in a mobile age, at a time when our people are downtrodden, we can look at this man, Crazy Horse, and thank the man who's done it. We could be a proud people because of this. Let it be said that this shrine represents the freedom, the nation of Indian people."

He went on to say, "The name that was given to Mr. Ziolkowski, Shooting Star, was like a meteorite, it marks an event in time, the gift of a newborn infant or the passing of an elder. It was almost 44 years ago that Chief Henry Standing Bear approached Korczak. He said, 'My Fellow Chiefs and I would like the White Man to know the Red Man has great heroes, too.' And, there is its beginning, carved into the mountainside. A truth will be established."

"It must be said today that two races of people have lost a great man. At a time when it was fashionable for racial hatred, he obeyed God's Commandment to love one another. He's a man who dared to be different. He dared to cross the artificial barriers, and for this we respect him. It is for this reason our hearts lie on the ground."

"Let it be said today also that this image of a great man, Crazy Horse, is matched by a great inspiration of a man who had a great heart, Korczak Ziolkowski."

The mountain carving from which Korczak had blasted approximately 7.2-million tons of granite blocking out the rough form of the 563-foot high sculpture-in-the-round will continue to move forward under the direction of his large family and the Board of Directors of the non-profit Crazy Horse Memorial Foundation.





LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Notes:

As a Notes subscriber I enjoy your paper very much. It is very hard to find any publication with a positive emphasis on being Indian.

I have one request I hope you can honor. I am here in Florida with virtually no contact except Notes. Do you know of any publication put out by the Seminoles or Mikasukee clan? This would pertain more to me and those I am descended from. I would appreciate any information that you have.

I also get a newsletter that is very informative-it is called 'OHOYO'. It is a journal (or bulletin) for American Indian-Alaskan Native women. I find it very interesting to hear news of women like myself from all over. Their address is 2301 Midwestern Pkwy. No. 214, Wichita Fall, Tex, 76308 and their phone is 817-692-3841. They also have information on scholarships and achievements of Native women. I hope you will consider publishing their address.

Grace Prescott
Orlando, Florida

Dear Notes:

I Have heard that Western Airlines wants to talk some more to the groups who are seriously thinking of putting a national boycott on them. One of our activists here was at Western's stockholders meeting and the big hot topic was Western having the contract to fly Salvadorans back to El Salvador. I guess the vote was surprisingly close - so much so that Western is apparently going to consider stopping doing this. I'm sure they also must be worried about what a national boycott could do to their image. Maybe we'll come up with a victory on this although I doubt it will stop the deportation of Salvadoran refugees.

Your coverage on the Miskito Indian situation in Nicaragua is really good but I'm still very much confused. Hate to think of the Nicaraguan government mishandling this issue and just hope that they can correct any serious mistakes. I know you people must feel bad about this.

Jerry
Tucson, Arizona



Dear Notes:

Please note that in your article "The Oppression of Native Women by U.S. and Canadian Laws" in the late fall 1982 edition you quote a woman named Celestine Gilday as saying that "The Dene Nation has defined its membership...1) the term Dene means Chipewyan...Cree...or Beaver Indians..." and I can't understand where this woman got her information from. Firstly, Chipewyan refers to an Algonkian group otherwise known as Ojibways from southern Canada in no way related to the Athapascans or Dene Chipewyan. Secondly, Chipewyan and Beaver Indians are both Dene, but there are no Beaver Indians as far north as the North West Territories. Thirdly, Cree Indians are another Algonkian group of Indians, so I can't see how they could be members of the Dene Nation. Fourthly, the two largest member groups of the Dene Nation, far outnumbering the Chipewyan in the N.W.T., as well as other smaller groups of Dene in the Dene Nation are not even mentioned. The first two larger groups are the Slaveys and the Dogribs, of which I am one, and the smaller groups include the Kutchin, Hare, Great Bear, and others. Please correct this misinformation. For further information contact: The Dene Nation, Box 2338, Yellowknife, N.W.T., Canada. A good publication to request would be The Dene Nation Annual Report, 1981. Otherwise a fine newspaper.

G. Tsetta
Saskatoon, Sask.

Dear Notes:

After reading your paper for about five years now I think this latest issue is about the most interesting one I've read. I think you're finally on the right track with your small-is-beautiful, adapting technology to self-sufficiency ideas.

I had been wondering how you traditionalists could expect to survive under present conditions with just hunting and fishing and primitive agriculture. There isn't enough unspoiled land for that. It would be impossible. And being a Marxist myself, I thought, the best thing for you would be to become radicals, help to change the world to decency, kindness, and justice, and then negotiate for enough areas to live traditionally. But even in that case it wouldn't be possible. So much of the world is ruined already. And I thought, you'd have to adjust somehow to accept the use of electricity, efficient farming-on either a small or big scale- etc.

So now, seeing that that is just what you're doing, I'm very pleased to see it. I think it's the only way you can live with decency, and perhaps you can serve as a good example to others.

I'm sorry to see the situation in Nicaragua, and glad to see the way you've handled it in the paper - very fair and understanding.

You are the most honest and truthful people I ever knew, and far more intelligent than most whites realize.

Al Amery
E. Pepperell, Mass

Dear Notes:

We want to be allowed to harvest fish or sealife from the ocean-bay fronts and mouths of the rivers. With no interruption from anyone.

We the Indian people of the Oregon coast believe that we have been given rights to the lands and the waters. The lands that we live off of, the waters that we need to survive. The water rights, we believe, were never sold. The waters... feed our people. We the Indian people of the coast of Oregon ask that we will be able to fish (gillnet, dipnet, spearfish, gaffhook) the water without interruption from anyone, so that we will be able to start a Indian Fish hatchery in most of the rivers along the Oregon coast, so that we will be able to feed and house our people and get the Indian people to come together again, so that we will not forget our Indian ways of life. We hope that with the help of the Indian people of the Oregon coast tribes we will be able to support ourself and build a future for our children.

In order for the Indian people to survive this way of life that we live today we must all come together on this-fishing that was given to us by the Creator of all life.

I want to send this to ask for support in what I'm trying to do. Hoping that maybe you will print this because we want something good for our people and our children. With the help from the brothers and sisters and all of our relations we ask for a chance to live. The white man lawyers say that we cannot have our rights back no matter what we do. We feel that we never lost our rights.

The right to harvest steelhead, Chinhalabit, crabs, lobster, shrimp, clams, oysters, mussels, crawfish, and tuna. We need help through prayers, signatures, good Indian lawyers, people to help with encampment management. We have no money but we have the spirit of our ancestors. Knowing that these rights were given to us by the Creator, and that we must exercise them. With or without help from our tribal counselors.

Mike Berry
Warm Springs, Oregon
Siletz, Grandround People

Dear Notes:

Our family lives on a 160 acre piece of land in Northern California. We were blessed with a 100 year old apple orchard that we have since tripled in size. We have a large garden. We have no electricity except our own stored in batteries from a solar collector. We have 3 light bulbs and a radio that run off our batteries. We have been living here 3 years and in that time built our own home. A lot was from wood milled from our own trees. Our heat is from our wood stove. Our goal is self-sufficiency, like many of the people who live around here. The future scenario of the Mohawk Nation pictured in the Winter Notes is like what many people around here are doing. Also people around here are fighting nuclear power, offshore oil drilling, random development and other environmental issues.

I just thought you'd like to know there are some good people around trying to return to a simpler and more self-sufficient life. Keep up the struggle.

Patricia Yanchewski
Willits, California

(RIGHT ON!)

SINISTER WISDOM

Sinister Wisdom will be producing an issue on North American Indian women. The editor will be Mohawk writer Beth Brant (Degonwadonti), who will have sole responsibility for this project.

We are looking for all forms of expression: short stories, graphics, essays, poetry, letter to and from women, photographs, excerpts from diaries, reviews of books, translations, oral histories and narrations, legends, and myths, just to name a few examples.

The contributions of words and pictures in this single issue will reflect the diversity of North American Indian women. All Indian women are encouraged to participate. The number of educational degrees, or lack of them, is immaterial. They are looking for experiences from the heart.

Please type manuscripts double spaced and send with a stamped self-addressed envelope by January 15th, 1983 to:

Beth Brant
18890 Reed
Melvindale, Michigan 48122



"The whole valley ruined, because of his damned electric blanket."

MacDonald Defeated in Navajo Election

Peter MacDonald, described by some as one of America's wealthiest and most powerful Indians, has been defeated in the race for tribal chairman by Peterson Zah. The defeat brings to an end twelve years of almost complete domination by MacDonald over the affairs of the Navajo people. MacDonald built a powerful political base largely through manipulating and controlling federal programs which originated in the Johnson era of the Great Society. He was described by some as a malevolent dictator and by others as a benevolent dictator but little doubt remains that he ruled with more authority over the Navajo people than probably any other politician in America has over any other constituency. MacDonald was the principle founder and chairman of the board of directors of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes [CERT], and his defeat costs him his CERT position.

Zah, 44, a founder and former director of the Navajo Nation's legal aid organization, won by a margin of about 5,000 votes. Observers stated that many young Navajo people turned out to vote and that this probably provided the margin for Zah's victory. Zah issued a statement following the election in which he vowed that the minerals of the 24,000 square mile Navajo territory would no longer be exploited by energy companies.

He also said he would open negotiations with the neighboring Hopi Tribe to settle differences in a 1.8 million acre land dispute. Zah's victory by many as a turning point in Navajo history because he has consistently opposed the direction of the MacDonald administration.

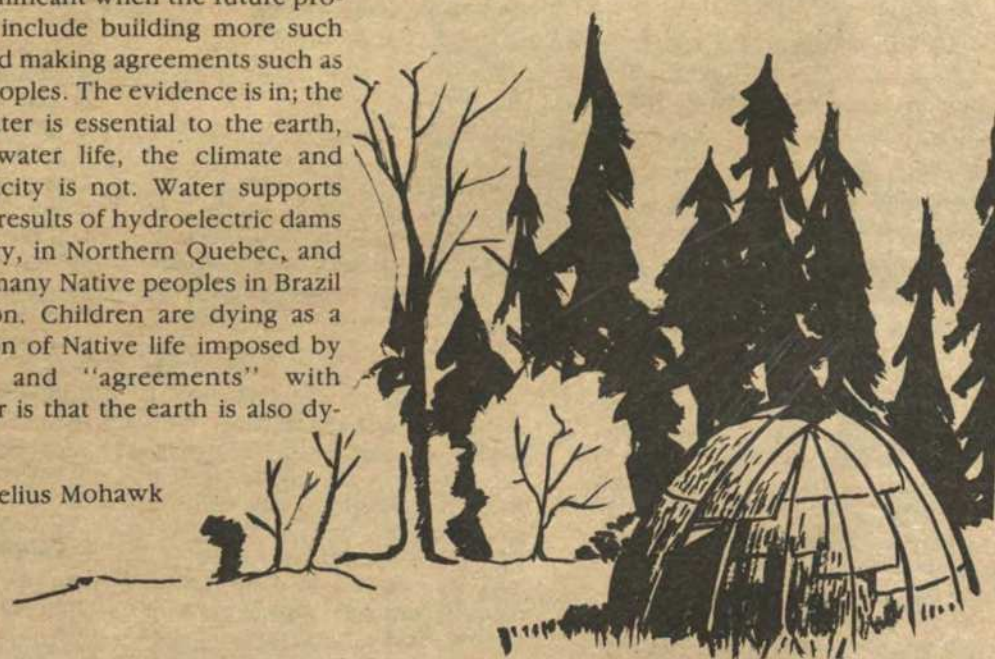
The Grand Council of the Crees-Inuit began an intensive publicity and lobbying campaign to bring to the world's attention the failure of the James Bay Agreement. On July 8, 1982, the federal government allocated \$61.4 million over the next five years to construct Inuit schools and housing, Cree sanitation facilities, electrical service and housing and for repayment to the Cree for health care expenses. Quebec is still "expected to contribute as required according to the James Bay Agreement," according to an article in "Grand Council of the Cree Update."

The health picture of Native Peoples across Canada is dismal. The Montagnais people's infant mortality rate for babies is 37.7 per 1,000 compared to the non-Indian rate of 15 per 1,000. See article in this issue "Why babies are dying: Health of Quebec Indians an 'atrocious'".

The DENE NATION NEWSLETTER, October 1982 reports plans to develop two massive hydroelectric dams in Dene territory. One is slated for the Slave River in Alberta and the other in British Columbia, which would build two huge

dams on the Liard River. These dams would flood 1,060 kilometers of land. The results of the James Bay Agreement are significant when the future projects of corporations include building more such hydroelectric dams and making agreements such as the JBA with Native Peoples. The evidence is in; the facts are obvious. Water is essential to the earth, plants, animals and water life, the climate and human beings; electricity is not. Water supports life. When we see the results of hydroelectric dams from the Cree territory, in Northern Quebec, and south to the lands of many Native peoples in Brazil we must pay attention. Children are dying as a result of the disruption of Native life imposed by hydroelectric dams and "agreements" with governments. Our fear is that the earth is also dying.

- Carol Cornelius Mohawk



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3" X 4 1/2" - \$60.00



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These necklaces are fashioned in the daisy stitch. Available in a variety of colors.
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These beautiful and delicate chokers are excellent for either men or women. Also can be used as headbands. Handcrafted from treated porcupine quills.

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FRINGED LEATHER POUCH w/beadwork

Make from tanned buckskin. Each a little different. Can also be used as a purse.
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(A) Strawberry Baskets

3" - \$10.00
4" - \$12.50
5" - \$15.00

(B) & (C) Button Baskets

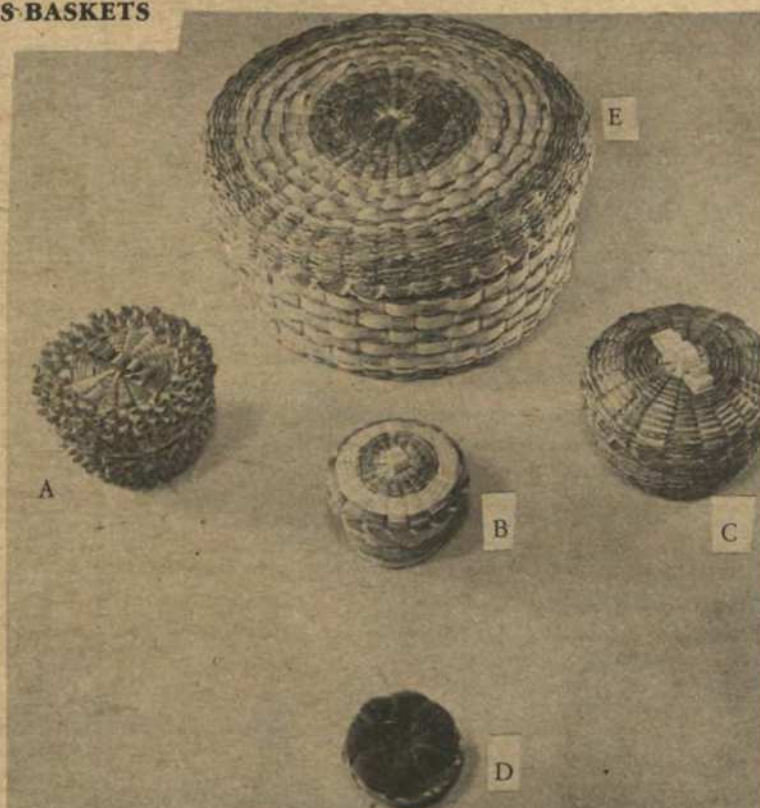
2" - \$5.00
3" - \$6.25
4" - \$7.50

(D) Pincushions

2" - \$4.50
4" - \$7.50

(E) Workbaskets

	Plain	Fancy
5"	\$9.50	\$13.75
6"	11.50	15.75
7"	13.50	17.50
8"	15.50	19.50
9"	17.50	21.25
10"	19.50	24.00



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BOOKS

HISTORICAL

Custer Died For Your Sins, by Vine Deloria. Paperback, \$2.95

Invasion Of America, by Francis Jennings. Excellent work on Indians, colonialism, and the cant of conquest. \$4.95

History of the Five Indian Nations, by Cad-walleder Colden. \$2.95

7 Generations, by D. Blanchard. The history of the Mohawk people at Caughnawaga. Created for use as a textbook by the Caughnawaga Survival School. \$19.50

Wampum Belts, by Tehanetorens, Six Nations Indian Museum. History and pictures of wampum belts of the Iroquois. \$3.00

CHILDREN'S

Cheer Up Old Man, by David Martinson. A story of an old man with a warm heart. Excellent for children. \$1.25

North American Indian Design Coloring Book, by Paul Kennedy. Designed to show the richness of Indian art. \$1.75

Tales From The Longhouse of British Columbia, by Indian children of British Columbia. \$2.95

The Bird in the Sugarbush. Excellent for young children. \$1.25

The Last Snowfall, Iroquoian legend adapted for early reading levels. By Catherine Steel, Illustrations by Myron Clute (Mohawk). This should be included in reading programs because it is culturally relevant curriculum. 15 pgs. \$3.25

SKILLS AND HOW TO

American Indian Needlepoint Design, by Roslyn Epstein. Designs for many projects. Paperback, \$1.50

American Indian Languages, ppk. \$2.45

Craft Manual of Native American Indian Footwear, by George White. Introduction to 25 different styles of footwear. \$2.50

Indian Herbology of North America, by Alma R. Hutchens. \$14.95

Indian Sign Language, by William Tomkins, signs to convey meanings of over 870 words. \$2.25

CONTEMPORARY

Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties, by Vine Deloria. An Indian Declaration of Independence. \$5.95

God is Red, by Vine Deloria. Offers an alternative to Christianity through a return to Indian beliefs and concepts. \$6.95

Native Harvests, Recipes and Botanicals of the American Indian, by Barrie Kavasch. \$5.95

Roots of Oppression: The American Indian Question, by Steve Talbot. The story of the nature and history of the dispossession of the Native people in the U.S. \$4.75

The Life and Death of Anna Mae Aquash, by Johanna Brand. Anna Mae was a Micmac sister who fought and died for the cause of Indian people. The FBI hounded her, persecuted her, slandered her on purpose and very likely killed her. \$8.95

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basic call to consciousness



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POETRY

SUNDANCER

Images flash, form, then fade
Your face before me
Praying to the Sacred Tree
Eagle bone whistle shrilling power
Plume twirling magically, Dancing

Your eyes mirror the strength
of the Sacred Tree
Calm & Serene
Inside the Sacred Circle
Sure of your purpose and
Dancing - dancing

As you grew stronger
And your heart beat in tune
w/ the rhythm of the universe
The hearts around you grew lighter, too
Each drumbeat thereafter set us
Dancing - dancing

Piercing & praying
For my People, you said
Piercing & praying, finally breaking
Mitakuapiwasni (All my relations!) Ever
Dancing - dancing

The memories of the Sundance
will bring me ever to the
Sacred Ways of Old
Just as the memory of this
Sundancer will bring me
ever to the ways of the Young Warrior
As his Spirit goes on
Dancing - dancing

-Zsuthé

why
the unanswerable
the irrelevant
in myriad
beautiful
ways
- Luther Allen

two songs
birth and death
of time island

- Luther Allen

AT THE DESERTED PUEBLO

ageless adobe rising skyward
nestled in cliff
an unintentional monument
carved in clay and muted stone
nothing stirs but the wind
moving dust and sand
over kilns
now dispossessed of cooking odor

circling lazily overhead
riding thermal elevators
one vigilant hawk
lonely guardian of ancient secrets

as darkness swallows the sun
ashen pits erupt in flame
painted-spirit-dancers
whoop and chant the tale

there are stories here
latent laughter imprisoned in walls
and pain
deeper than crumbling arrowheads

-Phil L. Jacobs

SUNRISE AT CROWDOG'S PARADISE

Hardly sleeping yet sleeping hard
Listening for Grampa Eagle Feather

Sundancers! Sundancers!
Sweatlodge is ready

Instant Awareness
damp, cool smells of
sage, cedar

Fires coming to life
Brothers calling to one another
Sisters checking on Family

Sundancers! Sundancers!
The Sweatlodge is ready!!

It's begun
the rest of the world recedes
then disappears

Sweatlodge & prayers
Teepee & prayers
Prayers & procession

Greet the Sunrise, my brothers
Greet the Directions, my sisters

- Zsuthé

What star is it that winters here in my heart
is it an unborn child
that touches the loneliness in me
making me realize my years
I want to hold my own children
and yet as a man
play such a small part of creation
how great is the power of a woman!
I am humbled at their power and pray to Grand-
mother Moon
and hear her helper the owl call their names
as he calls them back to Mother Earth
and to cherish this on this day forever

- Stonehorse Goeman

smell of light
garners ears to
night flow passed
in star howl

- Luther Allen

trees and light
mountains and cloud
soil and the Moth:
my chin on the fencepost

- Luther Allen